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As it is important that the best results of recent theological investigations on the Continent, conducted without reference to doctrinal considerations, and with the sole purpose of arriving at truth, should be placed within the reach of English readers, it is proposed to collect, by Subscriptions and Donations, a Fund which shall be employed for the promotion of this object. A good deal has been already effected in the way of translating foreign theological literature, a series of works from the pens of Hengstenberg, Haevernick, Delitzsch, Keil, and others of the same school, having of late years been published in English, but—as the names of the authors just mentioned will at once suggest to those who are conversant with the subject—the tendency of these works is for the most part conservative. It is a theological literature of a more independent character, less biassed by dogmatical prepossessions, a literature which is represented by such works as those of Ewald, Hupfeld, F. C. Baur, Zeller, Rothe, Keim, Schrader, Hausrath, Nöldeke, Pfleiderer, &c., in Germany, and by those of Kuenen, Scholten, and others, in Holland, that it is desirable to render accessible to English readers who are not familiar with the languages of the Continent. The demand for works of this description is not as yet so widely extended among either the clergy or the laity of Great Britain as to render it practicable for publishers to bring them out in any considerable numbers at their own risk. And for this reason

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WILLIAMS & NORGATE.

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
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DR. FRIEDRICH BLEEK'S

LECTURES ON THE APOCALYPSE.

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EDITED BY

LIC. TH. HOSSBACH,

MORNING AND ASSISTANT PREACHER IN THE JERUSALEM CHURCH IN BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

EDITED BY SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

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PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

After the publishing house of G. Reimar has issued Bleek's Introductions to the Old and New Testament, his Lectures on the Apocalypse now appear. The Editor undertakes the commission entrusted to him the more willingly, as he is enabled by it to pay publicly a part of the gratitude which he owed his affectionate teacher, who had been to him a fatherly friend. He had certainly many scruples about publishing the latter work. Since Bleek had adapted these Lectures only to two hours in the week in the Wintersemester, we cannot expect in them that profundity and fulness of learning which has made his Epistle to the Hebrews an epoch-making book in exegetical science. He had farther to consider that, with a generosity worthy of recog nition and which should put many scholars to shame, Bleek had placed his Heft at the disposal of his former teacher, De Wette, for the latter's labours on the Apocalypse, so that a considerable portion of his researches was already contained in the Commentary of this scholar. Besides, he had himself unfolded his views in several Essays in different periodicals. Lastly, immediately after his death, the more comprehensive Commentary of Düsterdiek had appeared. Notwithstanding this, the Editor, after obtaining the opinion of those more competent

than himself, still thought that he should no longer retard its publication. In the first place, Bleek himself had frequently expressed a wish to collect, in a connected work upon this book together with a commentary, the scattered results of his researches on the Apocalypse already published; and though such a work, supposing God to have spared him longer to us, might have proved more comprehensive than these Lectures, I still think it will gratify the theological world to have his researches before them even in this form; so much the rather, that Apocalyptic literature, and therefore the Apocalypse of John, was the subject of his continual study from youth, as his first Inquiry into the Sibylline books, in the journal edited by Lücke, De Wette and Schleiermacher, and the Researches and Criticisms, afterwards contained in the Studien und Kritiken, testify. Moreover, Bleek is so generally esteemed on account of his moderation and love of truth in criticism and exegesis, and on account of his clearness of statement, that even though his results are only the same with those already known, the researches being *his* have their special value for theologians. And in my opinion, although it does not become me to pass sentence on the work itself, it will be found that many things are established more definitely, sharply and clearly, than had been done in his separate treatises on this subject, or by De Wette and Düsterdiek. His "Allgemeine Untersuchungen über die Apokalypse," is certainly a model of clearness and acuteness, as well as of sobriety of criticism, which even those who do not agree with his results must acknowledge.

Bleek read seven times on the Apocalypse; the last time, in the Wintersemester 1856-57, for thirty-six hours. Since, as is well

known, he wrote out his Lectures, the business of the Editor was confined, at most, to alterations in style, and the correcting of some quotations, together with the deciphering of the manuscript, which was sometimes rather illegible. Here it may be remarked that the section on the history of the use of the Apocalypse, as well as the researches on the book in general, were written almost entirely anew for the last Lecture. The Special Interpretation was written for the Lecture in the Wintersemester, 1841-42; since which it was enlarged and improved by marginal notes for each following Lecture; even entirely altered here and there. Among the more important and notable works on the same subject which appeared after Bleek's death, only Düsterdiek's Commentary has to be mentioned. But I believed that I should abstain from noticing it by adding to the manuscript. A critical examination of the views of Düsterdiek, on my part, appeared to me unsuitable in a work of Bleek's, and even though authorized, I could not do it for want of time. Besides, a mere enumeration of the opinions of this scholar, whether in harmony or not with Bleek, appeared to me the more superfluous, as his fundamental views on the Apocalypse, though differing individually in many respects, are the same as those for which Bleek, as one of the first, prepared the way in his earlier dissertations, and procured general recognition. The second edition of Hengstenberg's Commentary presents so few deviations from the first, that where he was quoted it was only necessary for me to supplement the page of the first edition by adding that of the second. When the printing had already proceeded as far as twelve sheets, and the rest of the manuscript was no longer in my hands, the treatise of Ewald appeared, "Die Johanneischen

Schriften;" the second vol., containing the Apocalypse, presents many variations from his earlier interpretations of single passages. Under these circumstances I was obliged to restrict myself, from the thirteenth sheet onward, in the passages where he is quoted by Bleek, to remarks inserted in brackets [ ], usually, by the addition (earlier), showing that Ewald now proposes another interpretation. Other additions from my hand, chiefly mere references to Bleek's earlier dissertations on the same subject, are likewise marked by brackets.

May these Lectures, the last, as far as I know, that will appear of Bleek's legacy, serve to keep the remembrance of the beloved man in honour as a genuine Protestant inquirer, seeking only the truth; and may they keep awake and animate the spirit of a truly believing, though not always orthodox, criticism and exegesis!

THE EDITOR.

BERLIN, *August*, 1862.

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LECTURES ON THE APOCALYPSE.

THESE Lectures will be occupied with the interpretation of the Apocalypse, the last book of the New Testament Canon, and the only one which is entirely concerned with the future of the Church. In the Old Testament Canon, there is, as we know, a whole division which contains prophetic writings. The Old Testament had essentially for its object to prepare humanity, especially a chosen race, for the more perfect future which was one day to be manifested, that is, in the New Testament. The typical and prophetical must therefore have an essential place beside the historical and legal; in other words, references to the finished salvation which was to come one day, as well as to the person of him through whom it should appear, and to the same redemption in the collection of sacred writings which make up the Old Testament Canon and were intended to form a rule of faith and life for the people of the Old Covenant. Circumstances must take another direction after the appearance of Christ, and after the commencement of the New Covenant brought about by him, as announced in the Old Testament. Prophecy was not wanting here also, but prophecy in the more restricted biblical sense, viz. that which is directed to the future development and fulfilment of the kingdom of God. For since the kingdom of God under the New Covenant also, arose in human weakness and temporal limitation, and did not immediately accomplish in a perfect manner the proposed conquest

and subjugation of the world, neither individually nor generally: the view of the members of the New Covenant must also be directed to the future, to the further development and coming fulfilment of the kingdom of God. Accordingly many references to it are to be found in the writings of the New Testament Canon also, both in the words of Christ, especially Matt. xxiv. xxv., &c., and in the Epistles, especially 1 and 2 Thess., 1 Cor.; in a lesser degree in the others too. Nevertheless, the relation is here diffferent to that under the Old Covenant, because he who alone can lead us to redemption, and to whom we must attach ourselves in believing confidence, in order to be sure that we shall not fail of it, is set before us in the person of the Redeemer, in historical manifestation. Thus we are, above all things, directed to look to him, the risen One, by whom alone peace, comfort and happiness can be imparted, and in patient waiting to commit to him the further development and accomplishment of God's kingdom. Therefore it is plain why the books of the New Testament Canon are so predominantly historical and didactic, and that, in regard to these elements, the prophetic is very much in the background in comparison with the Old Testament Canon. The Apocalypse alone, as already indicated, forms an exception. Nevertheless, there is no book of the New Testament concerning which so many and such contradictory views have been held always, even up to the present time, as the Apocalypse, both concerning its origin, its value and the credibility belonging to it, besides its aim and its interpretation, as a whole and in particulars. With regard to the composition of the book, it is pretty generally acknowledged that it belongs to the later period of the apostolic age. The question especially is, whether it was written before or after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. As to the author there were three different views in the older Church, and also at a later period: 1, that the Apocalypse is the genuine composition of an apostle; 2, that of a subordinate disciple of the Lord; and 3, that it has been supposititiously attributed to an apostle. Partly, but, as

we shall see, only partly in connection with it, is the difference of view concerning the value of the Apocalypse and the authority belonging to it; whether it be a true prophetical writing, resting upon direct divine enlightenment, or only the poetical product of human reflection and fancy; or whether perhaps there be a middle view. Still greater is the variety of opinions about the proper object of the book, and the meaning of the whole as well as of single parts. That we may be able to answer these questions, especially the latter, satisfactorily, it is proper that we should (1) become better acquainted with the contents of the book in its single parts. For this purpose I shall here give a summary description of these contents, keeping as much as possible to the narrative and form of the book itself. Accordingly I shall (2) give a survey of the external history of the Apocalypse in the Church, its authority and use, and the chief interpretations of it, through different centuries, from the earliest time in which external evidences are to be found concerning its use. (3) We shall add our own inquiries about the book in general, so far as they properly precede the explanation of individual parts, and are necessary for understanding it. These concern the purpose of the book and the meaning of it in whole and in parts, as well as the time of its composition, and its author. Lastly (4), an explanation of the individual parts in succession.

I.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.

Ch. iv. 1—xxii. 5, forms the principal part of the book. That which precedes, viz. ch. i.—iii., may be regarded as a Prologue; and what follows, ch. xxii. 6—21, as an Epilogue.

I. Ch. i.—iii. Prologue. The first 3 verses (i. 1—3) give as it were the title of the book, or a general indication of its contents, as a Revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave him in order to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει), which Christ signified by his angel unto his servant John, which latter witnessed what he beheld (ὅσα εἶδε); the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. Blessed are the readers and hearers of the prophecy who keep what is written in it, for the time is at hand (ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς). To this is appended (verses 4—8) the dedication of the book by John to the seven churches of Asia (that is, proconsular Asia), which are adduced by name later on.

Grace and peace are wished for them from God, from the seven spirits before the throne of God and from Christ; and they are then referred to the certainty of the glorious appearance of Christ, who shall come with the clouds of heaven, so that all shall see him, those also who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him (κόψονται). In the succeeding verses, John (who again names himself as the writer, and indicates himself as the brother of his readers, as their companion in tribulation, in the kingdom and patience of the Lord) relates the vision that appeared to him in the Isle of Patmos, where he was for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus.

He was in the spirit (ἐν πνεύματι) on the Lord's-day (ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ), and heard behind him a loud voice, which commanded him to write what he saw and send it to the seven churches, to Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. As he turns round to see the voice, he perceives seven golden candlesticks, and in their midst a shining human form (ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου), holding in his right hand seven stars. At this sight he falls as dead at the feet of the appearing one, who, however, lays his hand upon him, and designates himself as the First and the Last, as he who had risen from the dead, and would live for evermore, who had the keys of death and of Hades; and he commands him to write what he saw, and its interpretation, and what should be hereafter (γράψον ἃ εἶδες καὶ ἃ εἰσὶν καὶ ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα); whereupon the mystery of the seven stars in the right hand of the Lord, and the seven golden candlesticks, is explained as referring, the latter to the seven churches, the former to their ἀγγέλοι.

There now follow (ii. 3), seven letters, which the Lord commands John to write to each of those seven churches, or properly to their ἀγγέλοι, who are to be viewed merely as the representatives of the churches. The letters refer to the condition of Christian faith and life in the individual churches, and are partly laudatory, partly rebuking; the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia particularly receive praise, as not having denied the name of the Lord under sufferings which appear to have been inflicted upon the faithful by the unbelieving Jews. The churches of Sardis and Laodicea especially are censured—the former because it believed it was living, whilst it was dead; the latter, on account of its great lukewarmness. Praise and blame are mingled in addressing the three other churches: the church of Ephesus is reproached because it had left its first love; those of Pergamos and Thyatira because they suffered persons among them who did not abstain from the worship of idols and from uncleanness. All the letters close with an exhortation, and promise to those who are constant and victorious

in the fight; whereupon, in the letter to Philadelphia, the Lord promises ἔρχομαι ταχύ (iii. 11). From several of these letters, particularly that to Pergamos, it appears that the Christian churches had to suffer many and even bloody persecutions. In this letter to Pergamos, Antipas the martyr is mentioned by name, who was murdered there; but about him nothing further is known.

II. Ch. iv. 1—xxii. 5, is the principal part containing a prophetic revelation of the future.

Chapters iv. and v. again, prepare for it.

The seer relates how he was commanded by the voice (i. 10) to enter through an open door into heaven (καὶ δείξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα). Forthwith the seer falls into rapture (ἐν πνεύματι), and beholds God in heaven sitting upon his throne in glorious majesty; round about him are twenty-four thrones with twenty-four elders in white raiment and with golden crowns; from the throne of God proceed lightning and thunder, and before it burn seven torches (ἅ ἐστι τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ) and a crystal sea flows; in the midst of the throne and round about it are four different animal forms (the four cherubim), each with six wings, full of eyes before and behind, who day and night praise God, while they thrice call him holy; at which the twenty-four elders fall down and cast their crowns before him, who, the Creator of all things, alone is worthy to be praised (ch. iv.). The seer then perceives in the right hand of God a book, written on both sides, sealed with seven seals. When an angel asks aloud who is worthy to open the book and to loose its seals, it is shown that none in the whole world is able to do it. As the seer weeps on account of this, he is quieted by one of the elders, who informs him that the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has prevailed to open the book and to loose the seals thereof. The seer then perceives the latter person in the form of a Lamb standing in the midst of the throne, as it had been slain, with seven horns, and seven eyes which are the spirits of God sent forth into all the

world. This Lamb then took the book out of the right hand of God, whereupon the four cherubim and the twenty-four elders fell down before the Lamb, with harps and golden vials full of incense, "which are the prayers of saints." And they sang unto him a new song, as one worthy to open the book, who had redeemed them to God by his bloody death, out of all nations, and had made them kings and priests.

The numerous host of angels unite in this song of praise, and all creatures in the whole earth praise God and the Lamb; the four cherubim say "Amen," and the elders fall down and worship.

With ch. vi. begins the opening of the book, which in the sense of the Apocalypse contains the whole future of the Church in its relation to the world, as pre-determined by God. This is disclosed to the eyes of the seer gradually, at the gradual opening of the seven seals.

What appears at the opening of the four first seals (vi. 1—8) is but shortly stated. Each time one of the seals is opened, the seer is asked by one after another of the cherubim to come and see. There appear in succession four horses of different colours—a white, a fiery red, a black and a pale. The three latter indicate by their colour, as well as by other signs, that great plagues will come upon the earth; according to the second, war; according to the third, scarcity of the most necessary means of life. Upon the fourth sits Death, accompanied by Hades, to whom power is given to destroy the fourth part of the earth in different ways.

The first, the white horse, bears a rider crowned, going forth conquering and to conquer, armed with a bow, whom we are certainly not to consider as a tormenting spirit, as is often done, but without doubt as the Lord himself, indicating the final victorious issue of his struggle with the hostile powers. At the opening of the fifth seal (vi. 9—11), the seer sees under the altar (in heaven) the souls of the martyrs who were slain for their Christian faith; and they ask with a loud voice when at length

the Lord, holy and true, would avenge their blood on the inhabitants of the earth. They receive white robes, and are directed to rest for a time, till their fellow-servants and brethren, who like them should be slain, should be perfected. It is signified hereby that still further bloody persecutions should come upon Christendom before due punishment should be executed on the world on account of its hostility to the kingdom of God and its members.

At the opening of the sixth seal (verses 12—17), fearful phenomena appear, on account of which all men, both great and small, are afraid and in anguish, seeking in vain to hide themselves from God, and from the anger of the Lamb, since the great day of his wrath is come, and no one can stand before him.

Before the opening of the seventh seal, a sort of intermediate act (ch. vii.) follows. Four angels, who hold the four winds of the earth, and have received power to injure land and sea, get from another angel the instruction not to do it till the servants of God should be sealed on their forehead with the seal of God, and be thus marked as belonging to Him. Then the seer hears one hundred and forty-four thousand named as the number of those who are sealed out of the twelve tribes of Israel, twelve thousand out of each tribe, and beholds an innumerable company out of all nations standing before the throne of God and before the Lamb, in white garments, and with branches of palm in their hands, who are described to him by one of the elders as being those who have come out of great tribulation, who have washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb, and are now under the immediate protection of God, and under the guidance of the Lamb, who shall feed upon the life-giving springs of water, being without hunger or thirst, without pain and sorrow (to end of ch. vii.)

The seventh seal is now opened (viii. 1 and following). Yet its collective disclosures do not appear at once (they are, as it were, too comprehensive and weighty for that), but only gradually and in parts.

After the silence of half an hour in heaven, trumpets are given to the seven angels standing before God (verse 2). Another angel offers upon the altar (in heaven) incense for the prayers of all the saints; he then fills his censer with the fire of the altar and throws it upon the earth, so that thunder, lightning and earthquakes arise (verses 3—5). The seven angels prepare to sound their trumpets, at which, each time, part of the remaining contents of the book appears. What comes forth at the four first trumpets is specified briefly, as it was at the opening of the four first seals (viii. 7—12); mighty and wonderful phenomena appear one after another—(*a*) on the earth, (*b*) on the sea, (*c*) on the rivers and fountains of waters, and (*d*) on the celestial bodies, so that each time a third part of these elements is struck and destroyed. Then, as a preparation for the remaining trumpets, the seer hears an eagle flying through the midst of heaven proclaiming a threefold woe which should come upon the dwellers of the earth, by the three remaining trumpet-voices (verse 13), wherein it is signified that at the seventh trumpet the last and greatest woe should appear.

The first of these three woes comes at the fifth trumpet (ix. 1—12); the seer sees a star fall from heaven to earth and disclose the abyss, out of which ascends dark smoke blackening the air, and there come forth locusts which receive instructions to injure only the men not marked with the seal of God upon earth, and not to kill them, but to torment them for five months with violent scorpion stings, so that they may wish for death without finding it (verses 1—6). These locusts (verses 7—10) are then more minutely described with regard to their extraordinarily fearful form and agency. According to verse 11, they have a king over them—Abaddon, Apollyon, destroyer—(verse 12). "One woe is past, and, behold, two more woes come hereafter."

More copious and compressed is the description of the second woe (ix. 13—xi. 14), dividing into several sections. The first (ix. 13—21) introduces the chief plagues of this woe. At the

sounding of the sixth trumpet, four angels of destruction, bound in the Euphrates, are loosed, and there appears a terrible army of horsemen, whose number the seer hears as two hundred millions, horse and rider of fearful, horrible shapes; out of the mouths of the horses proceed fire, smoke and brimstone, which three plagues are to kill a third part of the men upon the earth, whilst the former plagues had only served to torment men violently; but even these increased plagues do not move the rest of men to repent, and to cease from the worship of demons and idols, or from their murders, sorceries, fornications and thefts.

The following (ch. x.) makes no progress in the unveiling of the future, but contains again, as it were, several episodes. The seer sees another angel descend from heaven in shining form, holding a small book open in his hand; who places his feet upon earth and sea. At his cry the seven thunders utter their voices at the same time. When the seer was about to write what they uttered, he is forbidden to do it by a voice from heaven, whereupon that angel, raising his right hand towards heaven, swears by the everlasting Creator that there should be no more delay (χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται), but that, as soon as the seventh angel should sound his trumpet, the mystery of God would be completed; as he had declared to his servants the prophets. At the command of the heavenly voice, the seer was to swallow that little open book, which is sweet as honey to his mouth, but when he had swallowed it his stomach was bitter. Hereupon it was signified to him that he should again prophesy respecting many kings and nations. The seer now receives a measuring-rod, with the command to measure the temple of God, the altar (of burnt incense), and those worshipping there, but not the court outside the temple, as that was given to the heathen, who should tread under foot the holy city for forty-two months (xi. 1, 2). Then the divine speech announces to the seer that God would cause his two witnesses to prophesy for 1260 days (= forty-two months), clothed in mourning apparel (verse 3). These two witnesses are then more clearly described as prophets

enlightened by God and endowed with great power, who, after having finished their testimony, should be overcome and slain by the beast which ascended from the abyss; their dead bodies were to lie unburied during three and a half days in the streets of Jerusalem (the great city which πνευματικῶς is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified), to the derision and joy of the nations of the earth; but afterwards they would ascend to heaven, being again awaked by God, before the eyes of their enemies, to the horror of those seeing it. At the same time a great earthquake takes place, a tenth part of the city falls, seven thousand men perish, the remainder are afraid and give honour to the God of heaven (verses 4—13.) In the description a change takes place (verse 11) in relation to the preceding; a transition from prophecy in God's address to the seer, to the form of vision, on which account, whilst the preceding verses announce the impending future, the aorist is used in verses 11—13, so that the seer himself appears narrator in the vision. Then it is said, in verse 14, "The second woe is past; behold, the third woe cometh quickly."

It agrees with this, that the seventh angel now sounds his trumpet (verse 15); upon which it is made known by loud voices in heaven that the world-kingdom has become for all eternity that of God and of Christ; and the twenty-four elders, falling down, praise God that he has taken to himself the power, and that the time of his judging the dead is come, in order to reward his prophets, saints and worshippers, both great and small, and to destroy the destroyers of the earth (verse 18).

Hereupon the temple of God in heaven opens, and the ark of the covenant appears in it, and there are lightnings, voices of thunder, earthquakes and great hail (verse 19). A nearer description, however, of the third and last woe, in the manner expected from the preceding context, does not follow, at least immediately.

In chapter xii. a great wonder which appeared in heaven is spoken of. A woman, clothed with the sun, the moon under her

feet, upon her head a crown of twelve stars, was with child, and cried out in travail; but Satan, as a great fiery-coloured dragon, with seven heads, ten horns, and seven diadems, places himself before the woman in order to devour the child which she was about to bear. The boy, whom she brings forth, is indicated as one destined to rule all nations with an iron sceptre, that is, as the Messiah; he is caught up to God and his throne, whilst the woman flies into the wilderness, to a place which God has prepared for her, to be nourished there for 1260 days (forty-two months, or seven half years) (verses 1—6). A war now takes place in heaven between Michael and his angels on the one side, and Satan and his angels on the other, in which the latter are hurled from heaven to earth; whereupon a voice in heaven pronounces this as the victory of God and of his anointed, but invokes a woe upon the earth and sea, because the devil has descended to them and with great anger, since he knows that he has but a short time, ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει (verses 7—12). Satan, who was hurled to earth, persecutes that woman (the mother of the Messiah), who, being provided with eagle's wings, escapes to her place in the wilderness, where she is nourished three and a half times (according to verse 6, 1260 days) in safety from Satan. Earth itself helps her in swallowing up the flood with which the dragon endeavours to wash her away; whereupon Satan, full of anger at the woman, proceeds to make war with the rest of her seed (the remaining children of the woman) (verses 13—17).

The seer now denotes (xii. 18) as his standpoint (in the vision) the sand of the sea, the sea-shore, and relates (xiii. 1 and following) what presented itself to him there. He sees (ch. xiii.) in succession two animals, the one ascending from the sea, the other from the earth. The former (xiii. 1—10), which at a later period (verse 14 and following) is denoted as the beast pre-eminently (τὸ θηρίον), in his outward form is represented as similar to Satan, with ten horns, seven heads, and ten diadems upon the horns; upon the heads the name of Blasphemy. He resembles a panther, with the feet of a bear and the mouth of

a lion; Satan gives over to him his power and his throne (verses 1, 2). One of the seven heads is, as it were, wounded to death (verse 3; see verse 12; according to verse 14, with a sword-wound); nevertheless, the deadly wound is healed, to the astonishment of the world. This beast receives power for forty-two months; and the inhabitants of the earth, whose names are not written in the Lamb's book of life, worship the beast and the dragon, viz. Satan. At last it is emphatically expressed (verses 9, 10) that those practising violence would surely meet with corresponding punishment, but that here, on the part of the saints, patience and faith prevail. The second of the beasts ascending out of the earth has the horns of a lamb, but speaks like a dragon; farther on he is explicitly denoted as the false prophet (xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10). In relation to the first beast, he appears in an inferior position, procures him worshippers, leads men astray by means of great signs, induces them to make an image of the beast and animates it; whilst all who do not worship this image are killed, and all who do not bear the name of the beast, or the number of his name as a mark upon their right hand or upon their forehead, are excluded from common buying and selling (verses 11—17). "Here," it is finally said, "wisdom prevails; let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man (ἀριθμὸς ανθρώπου), and the number is 666 (χξξ)."

The following chapter (xiv.) contains several single visions which refer to the purity of the servants of God, to the blessedness of those who have fallen asleep in the Lord, and to the judgment threatening the world, and especially the chief seat of the hostile power upon earth, without directly involving special progress in the unveiling of the future, namely, (*a*) verses 1—5, where the seer beholds the Lamb standing upon Mount Zion, and with him 144,000 worshippers, as first fruits ransomed from the earth to God and the Lamb, who are without falsehood and maiden-like, who follow the Lamb wherever he goes, who alone can learn the new song which is sung in

heaven before the throne, the cherubim and the elders; (*b*) verses 6—12, where three angels appear one after another; the first to make known to men an everlasting gospel, and inviting them to honour and worship the Creator of the world, since the hour of his judgment has come; the second, with the cry that the great Babylon has fallen, she who made all nations drunk with the intoxicating wine of her fornication; the third, with the threat of eternal pain of fire against all the adherents and worshippers of the beast and his image (verse 11): "Here is the patience of the saints who keep the commandments of God and the faith in Jesus" (verse 12); (*c*) verse 13, treating of a heavenly voice, which commands the seer to write down, that blessed are those who have died in the Lord from henceforth (even already), that they shall rest from their labours, since their works follow them; (*d*) verses 14—20, reference to the execution of the divine punishment on the earth, represented under a two-fold image—that of a harvest, which one similar to a son of man, who sits upon a white cloud, and bears on his head a golden crown, accomplishes with a sharp sickle on the earth ripe for harvest; and under that of a vine, which another angel gathers, whilst he puts his sharp sickle into the vineyard of the earth and throws the grapes into the large wine-press of the anger of God, which is trodden outside the city, and out of which blood came forth even to the bridle of the horses, 1600 furlongs wide.

There follows (xv. 16) a new vision of the seven last plagues upon the earth. The seer sees upon a glass sea mixed with fire the conquerors of the beast, of his image and the number of his name, who on harps praise God with the song of Moses and the Lamb, as the almighty and righteous Judge, to whose worship all the nations of the earth should come (xv. 1—4). Then seven angels come out of the open temple in heaven, to whom one of the cherubim gives seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, whereupon the temple is filled with smoke from the majesty of God, so that no one can enter until the seven plagues of these angels are past (verses 5—8, end). At the demand of a loud

voice from the temple, the seven angels now pour out their vials with the anger of God upon the earth (xvi. 1). The pouring out of the four first vials (verses 2—9) is but briefly presented. What appears thereupon is quite similar to that which happened at the sounding of the four first trumpets (viii. 7—12). The first angel pours out his vial upon the earth, and the worshippers of the beast are covered with a vicious poisonous sore; the second pours his into the sea, which changes into blood, whereupon all living beings in the sea die; the third, upon the rivers and springs of water, which likewise become turned into blood, whereupon the angel of the waters praises God for this just judgment, inasmuch as he has given blood to drink to those who shed the blood of the saints and prophets, which price of the justice of the judgment of God the altar confirms; the fourth, upon the sun, which burns men in the most violent manner, but without changing their dispositions, since they still more blaspheme the name of God, who has power over these plagues; the fifth plague-vial does not produce any other effect (verses 10, 11); it is poured out upon the throne of the beast, whose kingdom is darkened; the people bite their tongue with pain, but, without being converted, only blaspheming God the more. The sixth trumpet is similar (ix. 13—21) to the sixth vial of torment (verses 12—16); it is poured out on the Euphrates, the water of which dries up, that the way may be prepared for the kings of the east. The seer then sees three unclean spirits like frogs go out of the mouth of the dragon, of the beast, and of the false prophet, who, working miracles, collect together the kings of the whole world to the battle of the great day of God's judgment, at the place called in Hebrew Harmagedon; whereupon there is a reference to the suddenness of the impending appearance of the Lord in an inserted admonition (verse 15). Finally, the seventh angel pours out his vial upon the air, whereupon a voice calls out of the temple from the throne, "It is done" (γέγονεν), and violent thunder, lightning and a great earthquake arise; the great city is divided into three parts; the cities of

the Gentiles fall, and Babylon the great comes into remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of his wrath; islands and mountains disappear, and great hail falls from heaven upon men; but they only blaspheme God on account of this heavy plague (verses 17—21).

The following chapter (xvii.) contains a minuter interpretation of the beast, as well as his heads and horns, and of the city already denoted (xiv. 8, xvi. 9) as Babylon; which interpretation is given to the seer by one of the plague angels, who leads him in the spirit into a wilderness, where he sees a woman sitting upon a crimson-coloured beast full of the names of blasphemy, with seven heads and ten horns (without doubt the same that was introduced in ch. xiii., whose number there was specified as 666); she is clothed in the most brilliant manner, and has in her hand a cup full of the abominations and impurities of her fornication, and by an inscription on her forehead is represented as the mystical great Babylon, drunken with the blood of the saints and the witnesses of Jesus, who sits upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth commit whoredom, and who intoxicate the inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornication (verses 1—7). The interpretation which the angel gives is this: The beast, he says to the seer (verse 8), which thou sawest was (ἦν, before) and is not (καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, at this moment he is not), and will come up out of the abyss (appear anew), and runs into perdition, to the astonishment of the dwellers of the earth who are not written in the book of life, when they see the beast that he was and is not, and (again) will be (compare with this xiii. 3, xii. 14, according to which the beast lives again after the deadly sword-wound of one of his heads). Farther (verses 9, 10), the seven heads (of the animal) are (*a*) seven mountains, upon which the woman sits (the great Babylon) and (*b*) (are at the same time viewed from another aspect) seven kings; the five (οἱ πέντε, without doubt: the five first of them) have (already) fallen; one (the sixth) is (ὁ εἷς ἔστιν); the other (the still remaining seventh) has not yet come, and when he

comes he shall (again according to God's counsel; that lies in δεῖ) only remain a short time, ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μεῖναι. It is farther related (verse 11), and the beast, which was and is not, is likewise the eighth itself, as it also ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν (is one of the seven), and he runs into destruction. The ten horns of the beast are explained (verses 12—14) of ten kings, who received no kingdom, but only power as kings for a short time (μίαν ὥραν) with the beast; they have one mind, and give their power to the beast. They shall make war upon the Lamb, but the Lamb, the Lord of lords and King of kings, together with his called and chosen ones, shall overcome them. Farther, the water upon which (according to verse 1) the whore (Babylon) sat, signifies multitudes of nations and tongues (verse 15). The angel then adds (verses 16, 17) that those ten horns and the beast hate the whore (Babylon), destroy and kill her, eat her flesh and burn it, since God has thus appointed them to perform his counsel. And the woman—thus the angel closes his interpretation (verse 18)—whom thou hast seen is the great city that has dominion over the kings of the earth.

In the following section (xviii. 1—xix. 10) the fall of the woman, the great Babylon, which was already (xiii. 8) announced (compare also xvi. 10, xvii. 16), is farther treated of in several paragraphs. (*a*) xviii. 1—3: Another angel, whom the seer sees descending from heaven, illuminating the earth with great splendour, calls with a loud voice that she is fallen, and has become a dwelling-place for demons and unclean birds, because she seduced nations and kings to fornication (to the worship of idols), and led an evil, riotous life. (*b*) Verses 4—20: Another voice from heaven commands the people of God to go out of her, that they may not take part in her sins and be subjected to the plagues, which are to be suddenly inflicted upon her, and in full measure, so that the kings of the earth who committed whoredom with her remain standing and weeping in the distance for fear of her torments; and the merchants and seamen who enriched themselves by her means lament over her destruction; heaven, the

saints, the apostles and the prophets, on the contrary, rejoice over her, because God has now avenged them upon Babylon. (*c*) Verses 21—24: Here the sudden and total destruction of the city is still more vividly portrayed by the symbolical acting of an angel, who casts a millstone into the sea, and by the speech attending the action: "Thy merchants"—is the final sum of it —"were the magnates of the earth; through thy sorcery all nations were led astray, and in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all slain upon the earth." (*d*) xix. 1—10: The seer now hears repeatedly the voices of a great company in heaven, in which the cherubim and the elders worshipping unite; praises and the invitation to praise God on account of the righteousness of his judgment upon great Babylon, whereby he has avenged the blood of his servants on her, and that he has taken the sovereignty to himself, that the marriage of the Lamb has come, and his wife has made herself ready, and that she may adorn herself in shining clean linen, that is, with the innocence or virtues of the saints (verses 1—8). The seer is then commanded to write down, that blessed are they who are invited to the marriage of the Lamb; and he is assured that those are the true words of God (verse 9); but as he is about to fall down and worship (before the angel), he is held back by the exclamation, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren who have the testimony of Jesus; worship God; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

In the following section (xix. 11—xx. 3) the seer narrates first the appearance of the Logos of God, as a conqueror in the opened heaven, sitting upon a white horse in shining form, bearing a name which no one knows except himself, his dress dipped in blood; in his train are the heavenly hosts upon white horses, with garments of white pure linen; out of his mouth proceeds a sharp sword in order to slay the nations, whom he shall rule with an iron sceptre; he treads the wine-presses of the divine anger; upon his garment and upon his thigh he bears the name written, King of kings and Lord of lords (xix. 11—16).

An angel standing in the sun then calls to the birds to gather themselves together to the feast of God, to eat the flesh of the kings and rulers, and of all, great and small—namely, of those adversaries who were conquered in battle with the Lord (verses 17, 18). The seer then sees how the beast and the kings of the earth collect themselves with their army, to war with him (the Logos) who sits upon the horse and his army; but the beast and the false prophet are both seized and cast alive into the burning pool of sulphur, the remainder (the kings and armies allied with the beast) are killed with the sword proceeding from the mouth of the Logos, and all the birds sate themselves with their flesh (verses 19—21). Then the seer beholds an angel descend from heaven with the key of the abyss and a great chain; he seizes the dragon, or Satan, binds him for a thousand years, throws him into the abyss, and locks it up and seals (it) over him (Satan), that he may not farther lead astray the nations till the expiration of the thousand years; nevertheless it is said, *μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ αὐτόν λυθῆναι μικρὸν χρόνον* (xx. 1—3).

During that space of time a thousand years' reign of Christ takes place upon earth (xx. 4—6). The seer perceives that the judgment is set, that the souls of the Christian martyrs, and especially of those who have not consented to the worship of the beast, again live and reign with Christ a thousand years, whilst the remaining dead do not return to life till after the expiration of the thousand years. "This is," it is said, "the first resurrection; blessed and holy is he who takes part in it: over such the second death hath no power; but they shall become priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years."

The prophetical discourse continues still (verses 7, 8), but then without farther notice (verses 9, 10) passes into the narrative form of speech, as an indication of what was presented to the prophet in the vision, as is also the case before (verse 6). The substance is this: After the expiration of the thousand years, Satan shall be loosed from his prison, and shall go forth to

mislead the nations at the four ends of the earth, Gog and Magog, and to collect them, an innumerable host, to battle: they march forth upon the breadth of the earth, encircle the camp of the saints, the beloved city, but are consumed by fire from heaven; and their tempter, the devil, is cast into the pool of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet, and they shall be tormented day and night to all eternity.

The seer now sees (ch. xx. 11 and following) a great white throne; before him who sits upon it disappear heaven and earth; before the throne stand the dead, great and small; books are opened (namely, wherein the conduct of each one is registered), and another book, that of life; the dead all together are judged with respect to their conduct according to the evidence of the books; death and Hades are thrown into the pool of fire; "this is the second death, the pool of fire, into which each one is thrown who is not found written in the book of life" (verses 11—15). Now follows (xxi. 1—xxii. 5) the last part of the prophecy, or the last section of the chief part of the book, which portrays at large the final development of the kingdom of God, particularly the New Jerusalem the dwelling-place of the saints, and the happiness of which they shall there partake. The seer beholds a new heaven and a new earth, the first heaven and the first earth having disappeared, and there is no more sea; and he sees Jerusalem, the holy city, descending out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; she is indicated to him by means of a voice coming from heaven, as a tabernacle of God among men, who shall be his people, and he will be God among them, wiping away all their tears, whilst death shall exist no longer, neither sorrow nor misery; for former things are past (τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθεν) (xxi. 1—4). He who sits upon the throne says, "Behold, I make all things new;" he commands the seer to write that these promises are faithful and true; he saith to the seer, "It is done;" and designates himself the Everlasting, who will give to the thirsty freely out of the spring of the water of life, bestow the inheritance upon the conqueror

as his son; but will assign the unbelievers, the wicked and the idolaters, their part in the burning pool of fire and brimstone, which is the second death (verses 5—8). The seer is now led up in the spirit to a high mountain by one of those seven angels with the vial of torments, and shown the bride of the Lamb, the holy city Jerusalem, as she descends from God out of heaven in divine majesty and splendour. It is then described more minutely (partly similar to Ezek. xlviii.). It has twelve gates, three in each quarter of the heavens, and at the gates twelve angels, and engraved on them the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; its wall has twelve foundations (θεμελίους), upon which are the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb (verses 9—14). At the measuring of the city by the angel who talks with the seer, it is shown that it is four-cornered, its length and breadth of similar extent, and also its height, 12,000 furlongs (which would be 300 German miles). The measure of the walls amounts to 144 ells; walls, city, gates and streets, are gold, precious stones and pearls (verses 15—21). The seer does not perceive a temple in the city, for its temple is the Almighty God himself and the Lamb (verse 22); it also needs not the sun and the moon to lighten it, since the majesty of God illuminates it and the Lamb is its light (verse 23); the nations shall walk in its light, and kings shall bring their glory and treasures to it; its gates shall not be closed by day, and night will not exist; yet nothing profane shall go in, neither he who practises abomination and falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life (verses 24—27). The angel shows the seer still farther a stream of water of life, which proceeds from the throne of God and of the Lamb (xxii. 1), in the middle of the street of the city; upon both sides of the stream is a tree of life which bears fruit twelve times in the year, and whose leaves serve for the healing of the nations (verse 2). Nothing accursed shall be any more; the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; his servants shall serve him and behold his face, and bear his name upon their

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foreheads; God himself shall be their light, and they shall reign to all eternity (verses 3—5).

Here the properly prophetical and main part of the book, the unveiling of the future of the kingdom of God, ends.

There follows still,

III. Ch. xxii. 6—21, an Epilogue, wherein is especially asserted the truth and certainty of these utterances, and it is repeatedly expressed, that the time of fulfilment is near. So first (verses 6, 7), where the angel assures the seer that these disclosures are true and proceed from God, that the Lord will come quickly, and that blessed are those who keep the words of the prophecy of this book. John again designates himself as the person who heard and saw these things; he falls down before the angel, but the latter holds him back, and at the same time commands him not to seal the prophetic utterances of the book, since the time of fulfilment is near (ὁ γαρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν), so that there is no more time for men to change their former walk; the Lord will come quickly, and his reward with him for each one according to his conduct; blessed are those who keep themselves pure; they shall have part in the tree of life and shall enter into the city through the gates, whilst the idolaters and wicked of all kinds shall remain without (verses 8—15). Jesus himself testifies that he sent his angel to make known these things to the churches (verse 16). "And the Spirit"—it is farther said (verse 17)—and the bride say, 'Come;' and let him that hears say, 'Come;' and let the thirsty one come; whoever wishes may take the water of life freely." The author again appears threatening the severest divine punishment against all who hear the prophecies of this book, if they presume to add or take away aught of the contents (verses 18—20). "He who testifies this says, Yea, I come quickly. Amen; come, Lord Jesus" (verse 20). The ending of the book runs after the manner of a New Testament Epistle, wishing divine grace to the readers (verse 21).

II.

HISTORY OF THE USE OF THE APOCALYPSE IN THE CHURCH.

I SHALL attempt to give here a historical survey of the leading views and opinions which have been held one after another, partly together, concerning the book, both (*a*) as to its origin—apostolic or not apostolic, its genuineness or spuriousness—as well as (*b*) its credit; the authority ascribed to it in connection with the view whether and to what extent the contents rest upon actual and immediate divine revelation, by which the visions were presented to the author in the manner here communicated, or whether the visionary character is to be viewed only as a historical envelope, and the whole as a purely human product; finally, also, (*c*) as to the interpretation of the book, in its totality and in single parts, in themselves and in their relation, to one another; wherein we must consider whether the several visions form one connecting series with regard to their meaning or several series running parallel; how the several numbers in the book are to be taken in themselves, and in their relation to one another; and especially whether the thousand years and the thousand-years' kingdom are to be taken as a period of time and a condition which has already begun, perhaps has entirely passed, or as entirely future; lastly, to what persons—a single one, or in a moral sense and collectively, the adversaries and hostile powers which appear in the book are to be referred—namely, the two beasts ascending from the sea and from the earth, of which the

former is mostly called the beast, κατ' ἐξοχήν, and 666 given as the number of his name.

I remark generally that with regard to no other New Testament book is there such a multitude of interpretations as about the Apocalypse, especially among those interpreters who—and they are the greater number—view it as a pure outcome of immediate divine revelations. This necessarily implies that they took the contents of single visions as definite predictions of historical facts or relations which had already been fulfilled in part in the former history of the church and the world, or were still to be fulfilled in part; and so they inquired what parts of the book and what visions belonged to the former category, what to the latter; what was still expected, after comparing what had already been. The whole was viewed as a sort of prophetic calendar, which one need only consult in order to know what epoch it is in the kingdom of God. Thus there was a natural proneness among interpreters of different times and different parties to find precisely their own times and their own struggles in the book, and their adversaries and persecutors depicted in the hostile powers that appear in it. The interpretation of the Apocalypse has therefore borne a very subjective character in many ways more than that of any other New Testament book, and has assumed a more objective character only in union with a freer or larger view of its prophetic character or the character of prophecy in general. Concerning the history of the Apocalypse in the Church more at large, consult especially Lücke's Versuch, &c. (ed. 1, 1832), ed. 2, Bonn, 1852, § 34—43, pp. 516—651; the ecclesiastical tradition respecting the author of the book; and § 68—85, pp. 952—1070, a history of the Interpretation of the Apocalypse.* For the last, compare also De Wette, Kurze Erklärung der Apocalypse (Exegetical Handbook of the New Testament, Vol. III. Part ii.), Leipzig, 1848 (2nd ed., with a Preface by Lücke, 1855), pp. 14—22.

* Compare respecting this work the copious review of Bleek's in the Theolog. Stud. u. Krit., 1854, 4 Heft., and 1855, 1st Heft.

We shall here combine both points of view in our statement, but must confine ourselves to the most important, the epoch-making and chief representatives of the different opinions. Definite, certain or probable traces of the Apocalypse's use are not to be found among the so-called Apostolic Fathers in their writings that have been preserved. The contrary has been asserted, it is true, namely, with reference to Hermas and Polycarp, with regard to the latter by Hengstenberg (die Offenbarung des St. Johannes, für solche die in der Schrift forschen, erläutert, 2 Bände, the 2nd, in two divisions, Berlin, 1849—1851, Part ii. pp. 97 and following); but in none of the places quoted from these authors does it appear likely on closer consideration that they could have had in view or copied expressions of the Apocalypse (see Lücke, pp. 518—524, 546 and following).* It is a much disputed question whether Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, is to be considered as a witness in this respect, who belonged to the first half of the second century, and according to the statement of Irenæus is said to have heard John (without doubt, the apostle). Two Greek commentators on the Apocalypse, both bishops of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Andreas and Arethas—the former of whom lived at the end of the fifth century, the latter not much later—speak of Papias as being among those older teachers who testify to the credibility and inspiration of the Apocalypse (τὸ θεόπνευστον, ἀξιόπιστον). Arethas only follows Andreas in this statement, so that the latter alone is here taken into consideration; his evidence can only refer to the (lost) writing of Papias (λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις); for antiquity is unacquainted with another work of Papias, and it admits of no doubt that Andreas knew it, since he expressly cites a couple of sentences of Papias's. Yet it is not likely, as has been often assumed, that Papias should have quoted the Apocalypse expressly as a work of John's, and an apostolic one; for in that case the silence of Eusebius could not be explained; for he ex-

* See Bleek's review of the work of Lücke in Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1855, Heft. I. p. 181 ff.

pressly quotes the witnesses of Papias concerning the authors of New Testament writings (H. E. iii. 39), and also mentions elsewhere the statements and opinions of the earlier church writers about the Apocalypse, but does not say anything about Papias's testimony, which he certainly would not have omitted if Papias had expressly notified the same as an apostolic writing. After this, it is not probable that Papias could have expressly cited the Apocalypse. Nevertheless, Andreas, in another place, may have believed himself justified in supposing that Papias laid stress upon the Apocalypse. Papias, like most Christians of his time, was a millennarian, and appears to have conceived in a sensuous manner the idea of an impending thousand-years' reign of Christ upon earth, and to have expressed that opinion in his work. Eusebius (H. E.) means that Papias arrived at this opinion, because he misunderstood the ἀποστολικὰς διηγήσεις; and that he did not rightly understand what was said in it, as being typical and mystical. Now it is certainly unlikely that Eusebius in those ἀποστολικαὶ διηγήσεις should have thought of such a writing as the Apocalypse; or as Hengstenberg (ii. p. 107) still thinks, of this book in particular (see to the contrary, Lücke, pp. 533—537). It is, however, very probable that Papias had not arrived at his opinion without connection with the Apocalypse, and that actual traces of an acquaintance with it were found in his work, which induced Andreas to make that assertion. See Stud. u. Krit. 1855, p. 182, for a Scholion upon the Apocalypse (xii. 7—9), communicated by Cramer (in the Catena upon the Catholic Epistles, with the Commentaries of Œcumenius and Arethas upon the Apocalypse: Oxford, 1840), in which a partial proof may be seen that Papias made express reference to the Apocalypse.

That Papias really knew and even esteemed the Apocalypse is the more credible when we consider the testimony of Justin Martyr, in his work, Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo, the writing of which falls in the year 140 A.D., nearly contemporaneous with the work of Papias. He there appeals (ch. lxxxi.) for

his belief in the future resurrection of the flesh and a thousand-years' life in the New Jerusalem, expressly to the testimony of the Apocalypse, and that too as a prophecy of the apostle John: *καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν.* Eusebius (H. E. iv. 18) says that Justin makes mention in this Dialogue of the Apocalypse of John, *σαφῶς τοῦ ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων.* Thus, as Justin here expresses himself—against the Jew Trypho—we are justified in supposing that what he says about the Apocalypse was not only a private opinion of his, but an idea current at his time in the Church, i.e. about the middle of the second century; and it is very probable that Papias also entertained the same idea, and that the Apocalypse had such credit as an apostolic writing of John's as early as the first half of the second century. It was much the same after the time of Justin, during the second half of the second century, when the ecclesiastical view shows itself decidedly favourable to the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. Of this we find decided testimonies, (*a*) with reference to Melito, Bishop of Sardis about 175, who according to the testimony of Eusebius (iv. 26) and Jerome (vir. illustr. 24), composed, among other things, a work upon the Apocalypse. This implies perhaps, if not an explanation of the whole book, at least some leading points in it; such a work may be considered as a not unimportant testimony for the authority of the Apocalypse. (*b*) With regard to Theophilus of Antioch, of whom Eusebius (iv. 24) mentions that he used testimonies (*μαρτυρίας*) from the Apocalypse of John in a treatise against Hermogenes; this confirms the opinion that it was then thought highly of in the church at Antioch and in the district about there. (*c*) In the writing which the church of Vienne and Lyons issued to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, respecting the persecutions which they had to suffer (about the

year 177). Eusebius (v. 1—3) has communicated an important portion of it; in which are to be found several unmistakable allusions to the Apocalypse. In one of them it is said, in reference to the utterance (xxii. 11), ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ, where it is decidedly considered as a sacred canonical writing. We find also that the principal witnesses for the existence of the New Testament Canon at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, belonging to the churches in Gaul, in proconsular Africa and in Egypt—Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus—expressly recognize the authority and apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, or pre-suppose it without further notice. About the same time also, Apollonius, a writer of Asia Minor; who, according to Eusebius (v. 18), had taken proof quotations out of the Apocalypse of John, in a treatise against the Montanists.

As to the interpretation of the Apocalypse at this period, the thousand years (xx. 4 and following verses) are generally referred to a time entirely future, beginning with the glorious appearance of Christ upon earth. From Justin Martyr (Dialogue with Trypho, 81), we perceive that the New Jerusalem (Apocalypse xxi. 2 and following), was viewed at least in part, as the seat of the thousand-years' reign. The beast ascending up out of the sea was referred pretty generally to the ruling powers of the world then hostile to Christianity, viz. the Roman (comp. Irenæus, adv. Haer. v. 26), where he says, in reference to the ten horns (Apocalypse xvii. 12 and following), that the present Roman kingdom was divided into ten kings or kingdoms, and would be destroyed by internal division; and in the same chapter (xxx.), from which we perceive that people were then abundantly occupied with the deciphering of the number of the name of the beast specified in the Apocalypse (xiii. 18), as well as with the correct reading—616 or 666—and its explanation. Irenæus, who looks upon the latter number as the decidedly correct one, specifies several possible explanations of it, among others the following: That Λατεῖνος is to be understood; an explanation, with reference to the Roman empire, which at that time was

without doubt current in the Church, although Irenæus himself does not approve of it, or perhaps ventures not to approve of it openly, asserting a more general, more abstract, but also a less clear explanation (compare Lücke, p. 959 and following).

There were not wanting, however, about this time, unfavourable opinions respecting the Apocalypse generally. We know of Marcion that he had not the Apocalypse in his canon (Tertullian adv. Marc. iv. 5; nam etsi apocalypsin ejus (Johannis) Marcion respuit); but he had not in it as well the other Johannine writings; and it cannot be inferred from this that he did not consider it a work of the apostle John. As he thought John a judaizing apostle, he did not recognize what came from him as purely Christian and canonical; from his whole dogmatic-ethical turn of mind, he must have been particularly repelled from a book like the Apocalypse.

The book must have found more acceptance among the Montanists, who spread themselves especially in Asia Minor, towards the end of the second century, and who were distinguished by a fanatical turn of mind. Without doubt they relied in a very marked way upon the Apocalypse of all the New Testament writings, for their enthusiastic millennarian hopes, and thereby endeavoured to make the most of its prophecies, partly in a grossly sensuous and fleshly manner. But a revolution was introduced into the rest of the Church. Millennarianism—the expectation of a thousand-years' reign of Christ upon earth—was originally combined with the idea that it was to come in the immediate future. As this did not take place, the millennarian expectation receded the more, or assumed a somewhat different form; and so did opinions about the Apocalypse, with regard to its value or its significance. Opposition to fanatical Montanism appears not to have been without influence upon it, and to have called forth an unfavourable opinion in several points with reference to the Apocalypse, mostly at the end of the second and beginning of the third century. So (*a*) in Asia Minor, among a small ecclesiastical party who had their seat chiefly at Thyatira

in Lydia, of whom Irenæus (adv. Haer. iii. 11) speaks, as well as Philastrius (Haer. 60) and Epiphanius (Haer. 51); the last calling them most suitably Alogi. They rejected both the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse, as it appears, in opposition to Montanistic misuse, and from a certain sober turn of mind which took possession of them against the doctrine of the Logos. They affirmed with regard to both writings that they were not worthy to be in the Church (οὐκ ἄξια εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ), and that they were suppositious works of the heretic Cerinthus. They certainly had no historical or traditional grounds for such an assertion, but merely advanced it to make the writings more odious. They did not appeal to the tradition of the older Church for the spuriousness of both writings, but to internal evidences in the Apocalypse, according to the statement of Epiphanius; among others, chiefly to the letter addressed to the angel of the church at Thyatira (ii. 18 and following), saying that there was no Christian church there (καὶ οὐκ ἔνι ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησία Χριστιάνων ἐν Θυατείροις, πῶς σὺν ἐγράφη τῇ μὴ οὔσῃ). What was the real meaning of this on their part does not clearly appear from the citation of Epiphanius; most probably it was that there was no church there which could be viewed in truth as a church of Christians, it being a chief seat of Montanism (comp. Lücke, pp. 578 and following; comp. p. 424).

(*b*) In Rome. Here the Presbyter Caius wrote a book, in the beginning of the third century, against Proclus the Montanist, of which Eusebius (iii. 28) has communicated some particulars. He says Cerinthus fabricated in revelations purporting to be written by a great apostle, wonderful things (τερατολογίας), pretending that they were shown to him by an angel; he said further that after the resurrection the reign of Christ will be earthly (ἐπίγειον), and that the flesh (men in the flesh) walking in Jerusalem will again serve lusts and desires. An enemy to the divine writings, he taught, in order to mislead, that a period of one thousand years was to pass in a marriage feast (ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς γίνεσθαι). It is indeed disputed whether Caius here speaks of our Apocalypse

as a counterfeit work of Cerinthus, or of other apocalyptic writings which Cerinthus had really written in the name of an apostle, perhaps in imitation of the Apocalypse of John. At an earlier period the words appear to have been taken pretty generally in the latter manner; so Theodoret, who without doubt borrowed it from Eusebius and only from this place, when he speaks of ἀποκαλύψεις (Haeret. Tab. ii. 3), which Cerinthus devised, as if he himself had seen them. It was not till a later period that the words of Caius were referred in part to our Apocalypse. So first Erasmus, whom Grotius (Spicileg. patr. 1 [1700] p. 312) and many others have followed. This assumption has again been disputed by other scholars; most amply by Hartwig (Apologie der Apok. Theil. i. pp. 33—228), as well as by Hug and others. But if Cerinthus had really written other apocalyptical writings under apostolic names, they would doubtless have been known to Eusebius, and have received a definite notice from him where he treats of Cerinthus. Such is not found in him. Caius also would not have expressed himself in this manner (ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων) if he did not mean our Apocalypse, which was circulated under the name of a generally known and great apostle; but would have mentioned the name of the apostle meant by him. I do not doubt, therefore, that Caius really thought only of our Apocalypse, so that, in contest with the Montanist Proclus, he brings forward the same idea concerning it as those Alogi did in opposition to the Montanists. A list of the canonical books of the N. T., first made known by Muratori (1740), belongs to about the same time as Caius and likewise the Romish Church. In it the Apocalypse is twice spoken of, and in a somewhat different manner; yet the way in which it is mentioned the second time, in the chief place, is not plain, evidently from a corrupt text. The view of Wiseler (Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1847, pp. 846 sqq.), according to which it is designated as a work not written by John himself, like the Wisdom of Solomon, but by others in his

name. In no case does the author speak of the origin of the book in such an odious manner as Caius's.

(*c*) Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria (in Eusebius, H.E. vii. 25) speaks of men before his time (τινὲς τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν) who entirely rejected the Apocalypse, who, going through it chapter by chapter, proved it unintelligible; holding that it was no revelation generally, but that it was concealed under a strong and thick covering of unintelligibleness, not composed by John, or by one of the apostles, or of the ecclesiastical men, but was falsely ascribed to John by Cerinthus. The men, therefore, whom Dionysius has here in view, put forward the same assertion about the origin of the book, as did the Anti-montanists of Asia Minor, and the Romish presbyter Caius, and it is also very probable that he thought of these, particularly the former; in which case we must admit that they must have explained themselves in writing more at length, concerning the matter and their reasons, than is otherwise known to us. Yet it is possible that Dionysius had others also in view in his own district, who followed those individuals of Asia Minor and Caius in their opinion about the origin of the book, and had tried to prove it more amply. Thus much is evident, that they cannot have relied upon an old tradition.

(*d*) In the Syriac Church. The ecclesiastical translation of the Syrians, the Peschito, has not the Apocalypse, and none of our four Catholic Epistles (2 Peter, Jude, 2 and 3 John); and it may also be assumed with safety, that they were wanting to it from the beginning; not, as Hug and others* have supposed, removed from it at a later time. We may further conclude from it, with tolerable certainty, that at the time of making the translation, which falls towards the end of the second, or at the latest at the beginning of the third century, the Apocalypse in the Syriac national Church, whose chief seat was Edessa and

* Above all Thiersch, Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunktes für die Kritik des nuen Testaments, p. 428 sqq.

the surrounding districts, had no canonical authority, and cannot have been viewed as a genuine apostolic writing. Yet it cannot be ascertained with any certainty, whether it may not have had such authority there from the beginning, or whether it lost it through opposition to Montanism, and especially Millennarianism, as it did about the same time in some other parts of the Church.

Yet the opposition to Montanism and Millennarianism in general, did not universally exercise an influence in lowering the credit of the Apocalypse as a canonical apostolic writing. As we have seen above, that Apollonius brought forward proofs from the Apocalypse in a work against the Montanists, and the Alexandrian Church-teacher Clemens often quoted it as an apostolic writing; so Origen also supposes it to be a genuine work of the apostle John, the son of Zebedee, without even expressing a doubt about the origin of the book. See especially the passage from his Commentary upon Matthew, in Eusebius (H. E. vi. 25), ἔγραψε δὲ (the apostle John) καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἑπτὰ βροντῶν φωνάς κτλ. Origen was a decided opponent of ordinary Millennarianism, and therefore what appeared to favour this notion in the Apocalypse was set aside by spiritual interpretation, which was not so hard for him on account of his entire mystical and allegorical manner of explaining the Scriptures. (See upon this point Lücke, pp. 328 sqq., 968 sqq.) He promises, in his Commentary upon Matt. xxiv. 29, to work at the Apocalypse in a special Commentary; yet he does not appear to have done it, and therefore we can ascertain his opinions merely from single expressions in other writings. (See upon this point Lücke, pp. 968 sqq., also pp. 328 sqq.)

Contemporary with Origen was Hippolytus, a Bishop, and a Novatian, probably in the vicinity of Rome. From a statement on a statue at Rome he had, among other things, treated of the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse. This treatise has not come down to us. But in that on Antichrist, as also in the newly-

discovered φιλοσοφούμενα belonging most probably to Hippolytus, the Apocalypse is expressly cited as sacred, and as a writing of the apostle John. In the former several things are to be found which show us how Hippolytus partly interpreted the Apocalypse. For example, by the number 666, he considers it most likely that Λατεῖνος is meant, and understands the first beast ascending out of the sea as indicating the near destruction of the Romish kingdom (see Lücke, pp. 964—968). Cyprian also makes much use of the Apocalypse, about the middle of the third century, and employs it in the same manner as other recognized writings of the New Testament, often quoting it under the name of John, doubtless the apostle. As belonging to a somewhat later period we mention Victorinus, Bishop of Petabio (Pettau), in Pannonia, who died as a martyr (about 303). He wrote a Commentary on the Apocalypse, as Jerome already asserts. Such an one, and in the form of scholia, still exists under the name of Victorinus. Yet it is a disputed point whether it be the genuine Commentary of Victorinus. The most probable opinion is, that it is really his, but was copiously interpolated at an early time, as the work, in the form in which it lies before us, contains much that does not rightly agree. It may be supposed from the statement of Jerome that the interpretation of Victorinus was originally more thorough, and more decidedly millennarian than is now the case, since the millennarian element does not entirely disappear, but is very much obliterated, especially in the interpretation of the thousand years and of the heavenly Jerusalem. He reckons the thousand years during which Satan is bound from the time of Christ's incarnation to the end of the world, and expresses himself decidedly against the Cerinthian idea of a thousand-years' earthly kingdom. Antichrist (xiii. 16) is explained of Nero to be resuscitated, a circumstance which, without doubt, belonged to the original Commentary, as also the hermeneutical principle, that the visions in the Apocalypse do not everywhere form a continuous series and refer to successive

events, but form a series partly parallel. Thus he refers the contents of the seven plague-vials in particular to the same thing which appears in the seven trumpets.

Dionysius, of the Greek Church, belonging to a somewhat earlier period as regards his opinions concerning the Apocalypse, must now be noticed. He was Bishop of Alexandria after 248—died about 265. He was a pupil of and like-minded with Origen, and a decided opponent of the millennarian mode of thinking. He found this especially prevalent in the region of Arsinoë, where they relied upon the writing of a Bishop Nepos in favour of it: ἔλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν, in which the latter defended Millennarianism in opposition to Origen's allegorical mode of interpretation, and especially in relation to the Apocalypse. This work was highly applauded in the district; and a Millennarian party maintained its position there. On account of the disputes that arose from this, Dionysius was induced (about 255) to go into that country himself, where, after a three days' disputation, he succeeded in so influencing Korakion himself, the then head of the Millennarian party, that he gave up his opinion.

After this, Dionysius wrote a treatise in two books, περι ἐπαγγελιῶν, the second of which treated of the Apocalypse. Eusebius (vii. 25) communicates his opinions on this book at some length. Dionysius shows himself to be a very acute and able critic. He compares the Apocalypse with the Gospel and Epistles of John, and believes himself justified in the opinion that the former is not by the same writer as the latter. He adduces (*a*) the custom of the apostle John not to name himself in his writings, either in the Gospel or Epistles. On the contrary, the author of the Apocalypse sedulously and repeatedly introduces his name John. (*b*) The difference in statement, thought and expression, in relation to which the Gospel and first Epistle are so very similar, whilst the Apocalypse does not at all contain so many ideas and expressions as occur repeatedly in those writings. Here he adduces individual examples. He remarks besides, that neither in the Epistles is mention made of the

Apocalypse, nor in the Apocalypse of the Epistles, as one might have expected if both were by the same author. (*c*) The difference of language, since the Gospel and the Epistles are written in good Greek, in well-turned and correct language; but the diction of the Apocalypse is full of barbarisms and solecisms. On the other hand, Dionysius will not deny that the Apocalypse is the work of a holy, divinely-inspired man, and of a John, as itself asserts, only not the apostle John, the disciple beloved by the Lord, the brother of James, whose it does not give itself out to be; nor of John Mark, the travelling-companion of Paul and Barnabas, but of another John living in Asia. He then mentions that two tombs of two different Johns are to be found in Ephesus. In the same work, as Eusebius says, Dionysius had gone through the whole Apocalypse, and had sought to show that it could not be understood literally (κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον διάνοιαν): he attributes to it, accordingly, a spiritual meaning, in the manner of Origen, though he cannot comprehend, as he says, the deeper meaning. A single, yet not exactly a spiritual interpretation of his, has been preserved to us from another writing, the Epistle to Hermannon, by Eusebius (H. E. vii. 10), where he refers (Apocalypse xiii. 15) to the Emperor Valerian and his persecution of the Christians.

As to a judgment upon the origin of the book, as well as its canonical value, no certainty or uniformity is to be found in the Church after the third century. The expressions of Eusebius, of Cæsarea, clearly prove this as regards the first half of the fourth century; and he is the chief witness for the New Testament Canon, in his Church History (written about 326). He says, of the Apocalypse (B. iii. 424), that opinions upon it even then wavered (τῆς δὲ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ἐπὶ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλκεται ἡ δόξα). He promises there to pronounce judgment upon the book at a fit time, according to the testimony of the ancients. Yet that was not done subsequently, in a definite manner. In the principal passage on the Canon (ib. ch. xxv.), where he divides into several classes the books which

belong to the New Testament Canon, or claim to be reckoned among them, he expresses himself as uncertain whether he should regard the Apocalypse as belonging to the first class, the Homologumena; or to the second, the Antilegomena, the latter of which he himself marks as *νόθα*; he leaves this to the judgment of individuals (*εἴγε φανείη*); saying that some *ἀθετοῦσι* this work, others *ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις*. In Book iii. 39, he points attention to the fact that Papias speaks of a second John—besides the apostle and evangelist—viz. John the presbyter, and bids us observe this, since it was probable that *τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακέναι*. To this supposition, brought forward by Dionysius, viz. that the Apocalypse was the work of another John different from the apostle and evangelist, Eusebius himself inclines most favourably, although he does not venture expressly to declare in favour of it; perhaps he did not find it sufficiently established in older ecclesiastical tradition so far as it was known. Eusebius himself often cites the book as "The Revelation of John;" nevertheless (H. E. iii. 18) *ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένῃ ἀποκαλύψει*; and it is not unimportant that he does not once quote the Apocalypse in his Interpretations of Isaiah and the Psalms, although there were not wanting opportunities of citing passages from this book; and he also quotes from nearly all other New Testament writings. The only explanation of this is, partly that Eusebius himself was not certain whether complete canonical authority was due to the Apocalypse; and partly he knew that such was denied to it by many, and therefore its testimony would not be recognized. This was partly the case with regard to the time after Eusebius; though differently in different parts of the Church, upon which I make the following remarks.

(*a*) The unfavourable opinion which the presbyter Caius, in particular, passed on the Apocalypse, in conflict with the Montanists, in the Latin Church, had no lasting effect. We find indeed that Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, in Upper Italy, fourth

century, end), Haeres. 88, where he enumerates the books which should be read in the churches, according to the prescriptions of the apostles, does not mention the Apocalypse among them; but the reason of this is because he did not consider it suitable for reading public in the churches, on account of the obscurity of its contents, and not from any doubt of its origin or its authority; as he already, in a previous place (Haeres. 60), reckons those among heretics who did not consider the Gospel and the Apocalypse to be the works of the apostle John. We find it everywhere used in the Latin Church by the most distinguished teachers, and without hesitation, as a genuine apostolic writing, possessing complete canonical authority; for example, by Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, &c. Jerome (Ep. 129 to Dardanus) says of the churches of the Greeks that they did not receive the Apocalypse, contrary to the Latins; and therefore his opinion clearly is that the latter, as far as he knew, received it. And (De Vir. Illustr. c. 9), where he speaks of the apostle John and his writings, he names among the latter the Apocalypse also, without once speaking of divergent views as to the origin of the book, though he makes mention of such in relation to the second and third Epistles of John. We find the Apocalypse in the different lists of the New Testament Canon received from the Latin Church after the end of the fourth century—the first being that of the Council of Hippo Rhegius, in the year 393—directly adduced as an ecclesiastically canonical and apostolic writing. Only Junilius, an African Bishop about the middle of the sixth century, in his treatise De Partibus Legis Divinæ (i. 4), does not include the Apocalypse among the properly canonical books which are perfectæ auctoritatis, and says that there is much doubt about it still among the Easterns. Yet this statement serves as proof that such scruples on the part of the Latin Church of his time were not known to him. It does not therefore probably refer to the Western Church of the time, when the fourth Synod at Toledo (633 A.D.) speaks of plurimi, who did not accept the authority of the Apocalypse, and

refused to preach (predicare) it in the Church of God. Nevertheless, the public reading of it in the Church may not regularly have taken place even in the West, from the obscurity of the contents. The above-named Synod itself designates the Apocalypse as a work which was declared to be that of the evangelist John and one of the sacred books by the help of many councils and synodical decrees of the Romish Popes; and excommunicates all who omitted predicare (it) a pascha ad pentecostarum tempus in ecclesia. The authority of the book accordingly in the Western Church experienced no opposition, from the middle ages till the time of the Reformation, neither on the part of the greater Church, nor on that of the lesser ecclesiastical parties, although both used it for mutual warfare.*

(*b*) The Alexandrian Church also, after the fourth century, agrees completely with the Latin Church in its judgment about the apostolic origin and canonical value of the Apocalypse, without the criticism of Dionysius appearing to have exercised any influence upon it. It was unhesitatingly made use of by the Alexandrian Church teachers as a work of the apostle John; as by Athanasius in the middle of the fourth century, who, in his list of the New Testament Canon in his Epistola festalis, adduces it directly among the canonical books, the only sources of salvation; as does also the σύνοψις τῆς θείας γραφῆς belonging to the Alexandrian Church; farther, the two Egyptian monks, Macarius and Didymus, at the end of the fourth century; and later, Bishop Cyril of Alexandria (died 444), Isidore of Pelusium, &c. We no longer find different views in this and following time in the Alexandrian Church. Only Cosmas Indicopleustes, who was a monk in Egypt in his later years, does not mention the Apocalypse throughout the whole of his Topographia Christiana, even where he might have had occasion to name it.

(*c*) The conduct of the rest of the Greek Church at this time

* See Lücke, pp. 640 and following, upon Charlemagne's Capitulare Aquisgranense, A.D. 789, ch. xx., where it is prescribed that only those Epistles settled by the Synod of Laodicea should be read in the Church.

does not appear so uniform. As to the lists of the New Testament Canon belonging to that Church, that of Epiphanius (Haeres. 76) adduces the Apocalypse directly as a canonical writing; and in (Haeres. 77) he says that παρὰ πλείστοις ἡ βίβλος πεπιστευμένη καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεοσεβέσι. We must here remark that Epiphanius in former years had for a long time resided in Egypt. On the contrary, it is not at all presented among the number of the canonical books of the New Testament in other lists of the Greek Church of this time, although all the other books of the New Testament are, namely, (1) in the Catech. iv. of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (died 386); elsewhere in his Catechetics he takes notice of the Apocalypse, but without naming and quoting it, even where the contents gave him occasion to do so, e.g. Catech. xv., where he speaks of Antichrist, and does not refer to the Apocalypse, but to Daniel, to Matt. xxv. and 2 Thess. ii. He even appears to reject the testimony of the Apocalypse, as that of an apocryphal writing: βασιλεύσει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίχριστος τρία καὶ ἥμισυ ἔτη ηόνα· οὐκ ἐξ ἀποκρύφων λέγομεν (Apoc. xiv. 14), ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ Λανιήλ· φησὶ γαρ κ. τ. λ. (Dan. vii. 25). (2) In that of Gregory of Nazianzum, in Cappadocia (died 389), in his Carmina, No. 32, where, after he has adduced all the other books of the New Testament, he concludes: εἴ τι τούτων ἔκτος, οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις. Nevertheless, he quotes our book among them in his other writings, even as the composition of John. (3) In the Iambis ad Seleucum, perhaps by a contemporary of Gregory of Nazianzum, viz. Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium; who adds, however, at the end of the list, τὴν δ' ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δέ γε νόθον λέγουσιν. (4) In the 60 Canon of the Council of Laodicea (about 362), where, in the enumeration of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, the Apocalypse is not mentioned at all. Likewise (5) in the 85 Canon of the so-called Canones Apostolici, which is also of the fourth or fifth century. It is not unimportant that Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople (died 407), Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (died 429), and Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria (died in 457), never expressly quote the

Apocalypse, though they had many occasions for doing so in their exegetical and other writings. Two other distinguished Greek Church teachers of that time, the brothers Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, quote the Apocalypse as a writing of the evangelist John, but both only once or twice; and the latter thus: the evangelist says ἐν ἀποκρύφοις; which, however, is probably meant not in the sense of spurious, but only in that of concealed, mystical. From what has been brought forward, it follows that, if we except the Alexandrian Church, Jerome expresses himself only a little too strongly when he (Ep. ad Dardanum) says in general, that the ecclesiæ Græcorum do not receive the Apocalypse. The opinion about the book in the Greek Church became more favourable after a time, and the opposition to it gradually disappeared; to which end the example of the Alexandrian as also the influence of the Latin Church, essentially contributed.

To the latter time of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century belong the Commentaries of the two Bishops of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, Arethas and Andreas, upon the Apocalypse, which consider it an inspired apostolical writing, and endeavour to give authority to it. The spurious writings of Dionysius Areopagita belong to about the same time, in one of which, namely, "Upon the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," is to be found a bombastic specification of the biblical books; and among them the author represents the Apocalypse as τὴν κρυφίαν καὶ μυστικὴν ἐποψίαν τοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ θεσπεσίου. Leontius Byzantinus, who last lived as a monk in Palestine (sixth and seventh centuries), in a list of the Old and New Testament books, and Johannes Damascenus (died 755 in a convent at Jerusalem: De Fide Orthod. iv. 17), enumerate the Apocalypse among the canonical books. It is true that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus (Patriarch of Constantinople, died 828), a list of the canonical and apocryphal books, which is to be found at the end of his Chronography, the Apocalypse is put in the Antilegomena of the New Testament; but this, provided the list is really by Nicephorus and was not already

found by him, is done only with reference to earlier doubts against it which the author had perhaps learned from Eusebius, not with reference to the scruples then prevailing in the Greek Church. And so the fact that Theophylact never cites the Apocalypse has its ground mainly in this, that he did not find it quoted by Chrysostom, on whom he mostly relies. In general, the Apocalypse was hereafter questioned with regard to its apostolic origin and canonical dignity, as little perhaps in the Greek Church as in the Latin.

(*d*) It was otherwise at a later time in the Syrian national Church. Here indeed we find that Ephraem Syrus (died 378) uses the Apocalypse as an apostolic writing. Yet he arrived at this conclusion only by means of his intercourse with the orthodox teachers of other Churches, whose Greek writings, like the Bible in the Greek language, were not unknown to him, although we know that he was not so fluent in Greek as to be able to converse with Greek Church teachers without an interpreter. This had no real influence upon the general practice of the Syrian Church. The circumstance that the ecclesiastical translation, the Peschito, did not contain the Apocalypse, had the effect of causing this book to be little known as a whole, and in general no ecclesiastical use was made of it. Somewhat later, the authority in which Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose follower was Nestorius, stood, may have influenced the Nestorians, who had a learned school at Nisibis, since he too does not appear to have recognized the Apocalypse. But the Syriac-Monophysite Church also agrees in the main. The Monophysites, it is true, came more into contact, especially with the Alexandrian theologians and their theology, and therefore their written canon may have influenced the former. Thus we find that a Monophysite Bishop, Jacob of Edessa, whose age, however, is uncertain (see Lücke, p. 646, Remark), quotes the Apocalypse as a Revelation of one of the Saints, viz. of John the theologian (the place is xvii. 3—6), referring to Hippolytus; and we know that at the end of the eleventh century a Monophysite Bishop, Dionysius Bar Salibi at Amida, wrote an interpretation

both of the other books of the New Testament and of the Apocalypse. But in general the latter was not looked upon as a canonical writing among the Monophysite Syrians. The second Syriac translation of the New Testament, the Philoxenian, made by order of the Monophysite Bishop Philoxenus or Xenaias, in the year 508, does not contain the Apocalypse any more than the Peschito does. The Syriac translation of this book, first published by L. de Dieu (1627), was not improbably made by Thomas of Charkel, who revised the Philoxenian translation about 616, in a monastery at Alexandria, and himself made a translation of the Apocalypse, induced to do so by the authority attaching to this book in Egypt. But the Apocalypse never formed an essential part of the ecclesiastical Syriac translation, neither among the Nestorians (or the Chaldæan Christians, especially in Persia and Armenia), nor also among the Monophysites (or Jacobites in the Patriarchate of Antioch). To the former belongs Ebed Jesu (Metropolitan at Nisibis, died 1318), who, in a list of Syrian authors in rhyme, does not mention the Apocalypse among the New Testament books (ch. ii.). To the Monophysites belonged Abulpharagius, or Gregory Barhebräus, Monophysite Bishop at Haleb (died 1286), who directly disclaims the Apocalypse as the production of the apostle John, declaring it to be a work of Cerinthus. Not a single manuscript of the Peschito contains the Apocalypse, and therefore it is not found in the first printed editions of that translation,—not in the first of all, which was prepared in Vienna, 1555, by Moses, priest at Merdin, and was sent to Pope Julius III. by the then Jacobite (Monophysite) Patriarch Ignatius. But subsequent editions of the Peschito—first in the Paris and London polyglotts—included the Apocalypse according to the later translation published by L. de Dieu.

Thus the book never had any proper canonical authority in the Syrian national Church, neither among the Nestorians, nor among the Monophysites; whilst it maintained its credit undisturbed in the rest of the Church, not merely in the Latin, but

also in the Greek, during the whole of the middle ages down to the Reformation.

As to the interpretation of the book in this period, I make the following brief remarks. After Rome and the Roman emperors were converted to Christianity, the fact exercised such an influence on the apprehension of the Apocalypse, that persons no longer referred the hostile powers—especially the beast ascending out of the sea, the seven kings and the woman—to heathen Rome and the Roman emperors as such, but gave them a more general application, viz. to the kingdoms of the world in general and its chief cities, or to a still future kingdom of Antichrist and its capital, or to the state of the world in general in opposition to the Church. The millennarian mode of interpretation entirely receded; for Victorinus of Petabio already began the thousand-years' reign with the first appearance of Christ at his incarnation or his death, and viewed the thousand years only as a symbolical number in a general way. The first resurrection was referred in part to the rising of the world to a spiritual life, or to the establishment of the Christian Church.

With regard to the relation of the different visions or series of visions one to another, the synchronistic mode of apprehension was followed, as it was by Victorinus, so that in many ways the later were referred to the same facts and relations as the earlier; by which means, as was the case in the whole treatment of the book, much arbitrariness was committed, and no fixed rule followed. As to the Commentaries received by and known to us, the first and properly the only one of the Greek Church to be considered is that already mentioned, Andreas's, who was Bishop of Cæsarea and Cappadocia, belonging to the end of the fifth century; he proceeds in the manner of Origen, distinguishes various senses, and endeavours everywhere to point out the fulfilment of the prophecy. But in doing so he generalizes the concrete. The Commentary of Arethas (sixth century), which we possess under the name of Oecumenius, is still

less worthy of notice; its relation to the Commentary of Arethas is also very uncertain (see Lücke, p. 472, Remark, 991 and following). From the Latin Church at this time, an expositio in Apocalypsin, under the name of the Donatist Tichonius, has been preserved to us. It is also certain that this contemporary of Augustine and Jerome wrote a commentary on the book. Yet that cannot be regarded as the work lying before us, which may have proceeded from the former as an extract, with the separation of the Donatist element. Augustine himself and Jerome did not write any commentary on the book; nevertheless, intimations are to be found in their writings showing in what manner they apprehended individual parts, especially in Augustine (de Civ. D. xx. 7—17, on Apocalypse xx. xxi.). On the other hand, we possess a complete commentary of Primasius's, an African bishop about the middle of the sixth century; and shorter expositions by his contemporary Cassiodorus (Complexiones Actuum apostolorum et Apocalypsis S. Johannis). Both do not depart widely from the mode of interpretation usual at that time; as also two expositions belonging to the eighth century, a shorter one of the Venerable Bede (died 738) and that of the Gallic presbyter, Ambrosius Ansbertus (after the middle of the eighth century). In the latter period of the middle ages also, the Apocalypse was frequently treated exegetically in the Western Church, but without any of these compositions having a scientific value.

The usual view of the time was that the thousand-years' kingdom had already begun at the incarnation of Christ or his death, and therefore people expected the end of the world to come at the expiration of the thousand years after Christ. On account of this, the mind of Christendom in the West, towards the end of the tenth, and at the beginning of the eleventh century, was very much excited in strained and anxious expectation. But when no particular catastrophe happened at the time, the minds of the people gradually became calm, and the opinion prevailed all the more generally that the thousand years are not

to be understood as so many ordinary years according to our mode of reckoning, but in a general way and as some sort of symbolical apocalyptic date. But the relations of the times and party considerations exercised great influence upon the definite interpretation of the hostile powers. After the spread of Mahometanism, it was usual to understand the beast with the false prophet (ch. xiii. and following) of Mahomet and Mahometanism. So especially at the time of the Crusades, when Pope Innocent III., at the time he ordered a new crusade in 1215, expressly asserted this interpretation, and announced withal that the hostile power of the Saracens would soon be destroyed; referring the number 666 to so many years after the appearance of Mahomet and the continuance of Mahometanism. Nevertheless, there were other interpretations, suggested by the relations of the times. Thus in the contests of the Romish Church with the Hohenstaufen, the beast was interpreted of this worldly power by the adherents of the former; as in the struggle of the Church with the sects and heresies which spread especially after the end of the twelfth century, the false prophet of the Apocalypse was referred to these latter. On the contrary, the same adversaries of the Romish hierarchy referred precisely to it and to the Pope, the beast full of names of blasphemy and the false prophet; so Frederick II., and also the heretical parties of the time. This was done in a peculiar manner, in the thirteenth century, by the stricter Franciscans, who attached themselves especially to the interpretation of the Apocalypse* which the Cistercian abbot Joachim of Flora, in Calabria (died about 1201) published. Whether that was originally anti-Papal is not certain (see Engelhardt, der Abt. Joachim, und das ewige Evangelium, in his kirchengeschichtlichen Abhandlungen, 1832, pp. 1—150); but it certainly had from the commencement a millennarian character; and was perhaps still further developed by those stricter Franciscans in an anti-Romish sense. Other

* See concerning the interpretation, Lücke, pp. 1066 and following; De Wette, Commentar zur Offenbarung Johannes, p. 15.

anti-Romish parties also, as the Cathari, Waldenses, Wicklifites and Hussites, made use of the Apocalypse in their polemics against the Romish Church, although the individual sects did it in a very different manner, while believing that the Papacy was prophesied of as Antichristianism: and they thought they were able to prove that the fall of it was near, even the very year, when it should take place. But in recognizing the book as an apostolic and truly prophetical writing, all parties in the Western Church were then agreed.

At the time of the Reformation, critical doubts were again prevalent, as well about several other books of the New Testament, as also about the origin of the Apocalypse. Erasmus, of Rotterdam, fell into a dispute with the Paris theologians about the Apocalypse, because he maintained that doubts had for a long time prevailed concerning it; and that not only among heretics, but orthodox theologians also, chiefly with regard to its author, although they received it as a book written by the Holy Ghost. He himself intimates several grounds of doubt without coming to a determination; but seems pretty clearly to incline to the view that the Apocalypse is not a work of the evangelist and apostle John, and is not quite equal in value to the other canonical books. Carlstadt expresses himself of the same opinion, in two treatises of the year 1520, a Latin and a shorter German one, as to what books are canonical or sacred and biblical. He makes three different classes of biblical books, puts the Apocalypse in the third and lowest, describes it as the least of the books of this order, and hints that it was not written by the evangelist John. At the religious conference in Berne, 1528, between Roman Catholics and Reformed theologians, Swiss and South German, when the Roman Catholics appealed to Apocalypse v. 8 on behalf of the doctrine of the intercession of saints, Zwinglius rejected the testimony, because the Apocalypse was no biblical book, nor even a work of the evangelist John, but that of another John. Luther before him had already expressed an opinion about the Apocalypse much harsher and rougher, in his German translation. He

gives prominence to a distinction among the New Testament books, between those acknowledged as canonical or right books, and those whose authority is not secure: the latter, in his opinion, are the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of James and Jude, and the Apocalypse. In his translation he assigns to these four books the last place, and distinguishes them from the others by numbering only the latter in the list of books prefixed, from 1—23, and then, after a short pause, he makes these four follow without numbers, just as if they were not at all to be included among the New Testament books. Luther wrote a preface to the Apocalypse in the first edition of the German New Testament (1522), in which he expressed himself very strongly against the book. He said he would allow every one to follow his own opinion with regard to it: he wished to force his judgment upon no one: but he could neither hold it to be apostolic nor prophetic, and could not admit that it was prompted by the Holy Ghost; he held it almost similar to the fourth Book of Esdras, since it has to do with visions throughout, contrary to the manner of the apostolic and other prophetic books, and does not prophesy in clear plain words. He was also offended at the expressions of the book (xxii. 7—9, 18 and following), where those are pronounced blessed who keep its words, and blessedness is denied to such as take away aught from its contents, since it is so obscure that no one knows what it really means; that there are much more noble books which should be maintained. He appeals also to the fact that many of the old Fathers rejected the book. He concludes, "Every one may judge of the book according to his spirit; his own mind cannot adapt itself to the book, and cannot value it highly, because Christ is neither taught nor recognized in it." Instead of this preface, which perhaps may have excited much offence, and is also openly unjust, at least with regard to the last assertion (that Christ is not taught or recognized in the book), Luther afterwards prefixed another preface, not, as is frequently stated (also by Lücke, pp. 898, 1014), first in 1534, but already in the Wittenberg edition of the New

Testament of the year 1530, which runs more smoothly, although in the main it expresses the same doubts. He says that the book in its past obscurity and uncertainty of interpretation is still a concealed mute prophecy, and without its intended use for Christendom; that many had tried it, but up to the present day had brought forth nothing certain; that some had manufactured out of their heads much unsuitable stuff, and put it into it. On account of such uncertain interpretation and concealed meaning, he had hitherto left it alone, especially since some old Fathers did not consider the book as the writing of St. John the apostle, as may be seen from Eusebius; in such uncertainty he would let it remain for his own part, without hindering anybody from holding it to be by St. John the apostle, or whatever he liked. Yet Luther makes an attempt to state the contents of the Apocalypse according to the single visions; referring individual images to individual events and epochs in the history of the Christian Church in succession. The bitter-sweet book (x. 10) he refers to the Papacy with its great spiritual appearance. He reckons the thousand years from the time of the composition of the book down to Gregory VII., and fixes upon the number 666 (xiii. 18) as being so many years of the above-mentioned Pope, the time of the anti-christian Papacy. Yet we may easily perceive that Luther himself does not attach much weight to these explanations of his. Already two years earlier he had published an old Latin Commentary, sent to him in manuscript out of Poland or Livonia, by an unknown author, but written before the Council of Constanz (Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante centum annos editus; Wittenb. 1528, 8), and accompanied it with a Preface, in which he himself does not express an opinion on the Apocalypse, but allows that Antichrist in it refers to the Romish Papacy. Luther's unfavourable opinion about the Apocalypse exercised an influence upon the Lutheran Church for a long time. After his example, people continued to separate those four books from the proper leading ones of the New Testament. Somewhat later, indeed, Martin Chemnitz, in his Examen Concilii Triden-

tini (1565), began even to specify these four, to which the three other Antilegomena of Eusebius, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, were added, as the Apocrypha of the New Testament, i.e. as writings whose origin is not sufficiently certified, and which therefore, though useful for reading and edification, must not be applied in establishing doctrines of faith; as those to which canonical authority did not properly belong (see upon this, Gesch. des Kanons, in my Einl. i. N. T. pp. 669 sqq., and my Einl. z. Hebr. Br. pp. 449 sqq.). Catholics, as well as Reformed theologians, did not take part in this proceeding in general;* nor did Zwinglius' condemnatory opinion with reference to the Apocalypse in particular find any following in the Reformed Church. Calvin makes use of the book, without hesitation, as a canonical writing, even for dogmatic proofs; a certain shyness prevented him from treating it exegetically in a continuous commentary. Beza, in his N. T., tries energetically to refute objections against the authenticity of the Apocalypse: in his remarks, he limits himself almost exclusively to explanations of the meaning of words, abstaining almost wholly from properly prophetic exposition. In the Lutheran Church also, after the first half of the seventeenth century, theologians gradually refrained from distinguishing two classes, of different canonical authority, among the New Testament writings, and therefore from questioning the Apocalypse with regard to its apostolic origin, and from lowering it in comparison with other writings. The interpretation of the book in the Protestant Church was in general directed against the Papacy and the Romish Church; the representation of the beast, of the false prophet and Babylon, being referred to them. At the same time, no continuous progression in the several visions was assumed, but parallels and recapitulations running beside one another. So, among others, Collado (Lausann. 1551), who assumed a complete parallelism

* Yet see upon Musculus in Lücke, 907. The Bernese Government hesitated to permit the printing of a work by Bullinger on the Apocalypse (1557), because he reckoned it among the canonical books, in opposition to Zwingli and the ecclesiastical edition of the Bible.

between the seals, trumpets and vials of wrath; partly, also, Paræus (1618), who, however, only views the seven seals and the seven trumpets as running parallel, referring to the time between Constantine the Great, on the one hand, with Boniface III. and Mahomet, on the other; but the seven vials of wrath, to the time to come, as far as Luther and thence to the end. Farther, the Englishman, Joseph Mede, whose Clavis Apocalyptica appeared at the same time with his Commentary upon the Acts, 1627, who finds in the first part of the book as far as the six trumpets, ch. ix. inclusive, the destinies of the kingdom foretold; in the second part, those of the Church, running parallel with the former; but in the second part he assumes a number of synchronisms. He places the thousand-years' kingdom, however, at the end, departing from the usual interpretation, which makes it to commence already with the first appearance of Christ, which also was firmly held by most of the Protestant interpreters,—in opposition to the fanatical chiliasm of the Anabaptists and others. The interpretations of these expositors individually were very copious, wanting throughout in certainty, and presenting little to promote scientific interpretation. Hugo Grotius (died 1645) departs most from the ordinary mode of interpretation. He assumes in the book different visions, and visions received at different times, of which those in the first part, as far as ch. xi. inclusive, refer to the relations of the Jews; the following, as far as ch. xx. inclusive, to the relations of the Romans from Claudius to Vespasian; the remaining chapters to the later relations of the Church, as far as the end. He reckons the thousand years from Constantine the Great to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Turks and Mahometanism penetrated into Asia and Greece. Hence Grotius, with whom also Hammond and Clericus agreed, entirely forsook the usual way of the Protestant Church in applying the Apocalypse polemically against the Romish Church, and in finding the destruction of that Church described in it; yet a simple comparison of the contents of the book does not make it at all probable that in his interpretation he

attained to the proper aim and essential meaning of it, or that he penetrated into its depths. Of Catholic commentators belonging to this period, I name here only the three following:— (*a*) In the end of the sixteenth century, Francis Ribeira, professor in Salamanca (1591), who tries to explain the book by the relations of time as much as possible; for example, he understands the Babylonian whore as heathen Rome, in opposition to the Protestants of the time. (*b*) Another Spaniard, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Jesuit Ludwig ab Alcassar, whose copious Commentary (1614) attained great authority in the Romish Church. In apprehending the economy of the book, he may be viewed, in a manner, as the forerunner of Hugo Grotius; he interprets v. 11 of the struggle of Christ's church with the Jewish synagogue; xii. 19, with Roman heathenism, both its worldly power and fleshly wisdom; xx. 22, of the victory, rest and glorious excellency of the Church. (*c*) The French bishop, Jacob Benignus Bossuet (died 1701), who as an interpreter of the Apocalypse (Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse; Paris, 1689, 8) also attained to great authority in the Catholic Church, partly too outside the Church. His explanation is allied to that of Alcassar and Grotius; naturally in opposition to the usual interpretation of Protestant expositors against the Papacy and its hostility to the true Church of God. He refers the thousand years (xx. 1—10) to the time of the sovereignty of the Church upon earth; the preceding visions (iv. 19), to the war of Judaism and that of Romish heathenism (especially under Diocletian) against the Church; he also refers the number 666 to Diocletian; the letting loose of Satan at the end of the thousand years, to the spread of the Turks in Europe and to Lutheranism; the last chapters, to the impending final attack of Satan on the Church, and the general resurrection immediately following it, with the last judgment.*

In opposition to Bossuet, appeared on the Protestant side

* On Noel Aubert de Versé, see Lücke, 1031 ff.

the Commentary of a Dutch theologian, Campegius Vitringa, Professor at Franeker (died 1722), Ανάκρισις Apocalypseos Joannis Apostoli, &c., 1715 (1719 and 1721), a work distinguished for philological erudition and accuracy, as well as its literary and historical apparatus. He adheres in general to the mode of exposition usual in the Protestant Church against the Romish, which he seeks to justify against Grotius and Bossuet in particular. Like many commentators of that time, he also understands the Apocalyptic Epistles (ch. ii. iii.) as prophecy, as prophetically showing forth the inner condition of the Christian Church, according to the succession of the Epistles, in different periods, from the date of the composition of the book up to that time; what follows, on the contrary, from ch. iv., as a prophecy of the outward destinies of the Church running parallel to its internal condition, in several divisions again running parallel to one another. He refers the seven seals (iv. 8) to the destinies of the Church in general, from Trajan until the end of the world; viii. 11 he takes as a prophecy concerning Rome, both heathen and papal, under the figure of Jerusalem. In xii. 19 is more exactly presented the struggle of the true Church of Christ with Romish anti-christianism until its destruction; ch. xx., the condition of the Church in Europe after the destruction of anti-christian Rome, and its triumphs over new enemies who should arise at the end of the thousand-years' reign; so that he considers the millennial kingdom, which he understands mystically as one entirely future. In ch. xxi. xxii., the eternal blessedness of the Church triumphing over the whole world is set forth.

Vitringa abstains from more exact chronological calculations of the future, of the time of the fall of anti-christianism, &c. But different attempts were made in different quarters, after the beginning of the eighteenth century, to investigate the future more closely, setting out with the idea of discovering the chronological system of the Apocalypse, and herewith the time of the final decisive leading points, and of determining the future

according to year and day; in doing which the numbers in the Apocalypse were compared with the Old Testament ones, especially with those in the book of Daniel. I mention here only the most famous and influential attempt of the kind by Johann Albrecht Bengel (died 1762): Erklärte Offenbarung Johannes oder vielmehr Jesu Christi .... übersetzt und durch die prophetischen Zahlen aufgeschlossen; Stuttg. 1740, 8; again printed 1834, 8 (as also with other writings of Bengel; see Lücke, p. 1039, f. Anm. a). He believed he was able to discover, by means of several very complicated and artistic combinations, it is true, that a prophetic month amounts to $15\frac{6}{7}$ years (namely $\frac{666}{42}$, according to xiii. 18, comp. with verse 5); accordingly a prophetical day consists of nearly half a year; an apocalyptic χρόνος, $1111\frac{1}{9}$ years ($\frac{10000}{9}$); the ὀλίγος καιρὸς (xii. 12) = $888\frac{8}{9}$ years ($\frac{8000}{9}$); the apocalyptic αἰὼν (xiv. 6) = $2222\frac{2}{9}$ years, &c. According to Bengel also, the Apocalypse is taken up in great part with a prophetic representation of the struggle of the true Church of Christ with the Papacy and the world. He believes he found the 18th of June, 1836, to be the date of the coming of Christ after the last raging of Antichrist; from that time Satan should be bound for a thousand years, until 2836; the thousand-years' kingdom of the saints in heaven was to begin in 2836, lasting until 3836.

This apocalyptic system of Bengel found much acceptance, even admiration and following, in a considerable portion of the Evangelical Church, not merely in Würtemberg, but also in England and elsewhere, and has been firmly held in its essential features even till later times, until it found its refutation in the historical course of affairs, at least partly; as Bengel himself, with all confidence in the correctness of his manner of interpretation, expressed his opinion to the effect, that if the year 1836 should pass without perceptible change, undoubtedly there must be a main fault in his system. Nevertheless, he thinks that even if the disclosure of the numbers given by him should be incorrect, which he is not, however, inclined to grant, still

the explanation of the things, together with their practical application, will maintain its correctness.

But the entire Bengelian and similar modes of treating the Apocalypse rest upon the supposition, not merely of the genuineness and apostolic composition of the book, but also upon its inspiration in the strictest sense, viz. that it was communicated to the apostle in its whole contents by immediate divine revelation, and is therefore thoroughly credible in all its prophetic statements, if it is only explained in a right way. Yet this view of the book at the time of Bengel, about the middle of the 18th century, was not the one generally prevalent in the Protestant Church. On the one side, a freer, less strict view of the character of prophecy in general was taken, whence there arose a tendency to interpret the Apocalypse in a simple manner; and more by the relations out of which the book arose, scruples about the apostolic origin of the book were again rife, and it was soon attacked with great eagerness. The latter attacks and disputes began already about 1730, and in England too, first in the Greek English New Testament published anonymously and by an unknown writer (The New Testament in Greek and English, &c.; London, 1729). The editor in his remarks attacks the genuineness of the Apocalypse in a very decided manner, relying mainly upon the criticism of Dionysius of Alexandria. It is further assailed in a treatise that likewise appeared anonymously (A Discourse, Historical and Critical, on the Revelation ascribed to St. John; London, 1730). The author is the Genevan librarian, Firmin Abauzit, distinguished for abundant erudition, who with much energy seeks to show that reasons preponderate against the apostolic origin of the book. He wrote the treatise originally in French, and at the inducement of an English friend, in order to counteract the assiduous study of apocalyptic chronology; yet it was at first published in the English translation.

A refutation of these two attacks by the English theologian, Leonhard Twells, appeared in the third part of his criticism of

that Greek-English edition of the New Testament, 1732. The treatise relating to the Apocalypse is somewhat abridged in the Latin translation taken by Wolf into his Curæ Philol. et Criticæ on the New Testament, and prefixed to the remarks upon the Apocalypse. Twells knows how to make the most of external as well as internal grounds in favour of the composition of the book by the apostle John, with learning and sagacity, and his defence met with much approbation.

The same Abauzit wrote another treatise which belongs to this place (Essai sur l'Apocalypse, 1730), in which he tries to show that the book was written under Nero, and is in its prophecy only a development of the sayings of Christ about the fall of Jerusalem; that all refers to the destruction of this Jewish capital and the Roman-Jewish war (ch. xxi. and xxii.); to the more extensive spread of the Christian Church after that catastrophe.

Similar is the interpretation of Wetstein (De Interpretatione libri Apocalypseos) in his New Testament, II. 889 and following; 1752), who refers the main contents to the Romish-Jewish war and the contemporary civil war in Italy, but understands the thousand years (ch. xx.) as the fifty years after the death of Domitian until the insurrection of the Jews under Bar Cochba, and takes the heavenly Jerusalem as a type of the great spread and rest of the Christian Church after the complete subjection of the Jews. Further, Johann Christoph Harenberg's (Professor at Brunswick, died 1774) Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis: Es entwickelt sich zugleich die Frage, wo wir jetzt in der Zeit der Anzeigen solcher Offenbarung leben; Braunschw. 1759, 4), which refers all to Jerusalem as far as ch. xviii., understanding Babylon as that city; but the following chapters he refers to the development of the Christian Church till the last day.

Semler, on the contrary, in his edition of Wetstein's Libell. ad crisin et interpretationem N. T. (1766), where he (pp. 217—246) gives Observationes breves de interpretatione Apocalypseos, considers the book as chiefly directed against the Romans, the

protectors of idolatry and enemies of the Christian Church, but views the prophetical images as merely borrowed from Jewish Apocalyptic, without imputing to them any special value. In the same treatise, Semler also expresses doubts about the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. But the contest respecting it raged far more vigorously in the German Protestant Church a few years later, when Semler published the treatise of a defunct theologian (Georg Ludwig Oeder, Dean at Feuchtwangen in the Ansbach district, died 1760), "Christlich freie Untersuchung über die sogenannte Offenbarung Johannis, aus der nachgelassenen Handschrift eines fränkischen Gelehrten," herausgegeben mit einigen Anmerk. von J. S. Semler; Halle, 1769, 8. The treatise is divided into two parts; in the first, Oeder contests the genuineness of the Apocalypse on historical grounds by considering the testimonies of the ancients; in the second, on dogmatic grounds, from a consideration of its contents. He agrees with the Alogi and Caius that it is a work of Cerinthus. Semler, in his remarks, almost everywhere approves of the judgment of Oeder. Subsequently, Semler treated of the same subject still farther, with reference to counter works that had appeared meanwhile: (*a*) in his Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanons, Thl. i.; nebst Antwort auf die Tübingische Vertheidigung der Apokalypse (von Beust), Halle, 1771, 8; (*b*) in his Neuen Untersuchungen über die Apokalypse, Halle, 1776, where he seeks to prove that it was not at all known in the Church before the middle of the second century, and that it was first brought to Italy and Gaul by Montanists (in opposition to Knittel); and (*c*) in his theological Epistles, two collections, Leipzig, 1781, 8 (against Hartwig). The spuriousness of the Apocalypse was also sought to be proved (*a*) by F. A. Stroth: Freymüthige Untersuchungen, die Offenbarung Johannis betreffend (against C. F. Schmidt), mit Vorrede von Semler, Halle, 1771, 8: the treatise appeared anonymously; the author studied at that time in Halle, and afterwards became rector in Gotha (died 1785); and (*b*) by Michael Merkel, candi-

date of theology, in two treatises, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1782 and 1785 (against Hartwig and Storr).

The German theologians who sought to justify the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse against these attacks of Semler and his friends, have been already mentioned, for the most part incidentally. Here belong (*a*) the Würtemberg Chancellor, Jeremias Reuss (1767 and 1772); (*b*) the Leipzig, afterwards Wittenberg theologian, Christian Friedrich Schmidt (1771 and 1775); (*c*) the Brunswick General Superintendent, Franz Antony Knittel (1773); (*d*) the Würtemberg theologian, Gottlob Christian Storr (1782 and 1786). One of the most valuable among the apologetic treatises of this time in favour of the Apocalypse is the following: Apologie der Apokalypse wider falschen Tadel und falsches Lob. Chemnitz 4 Theile, 1780-83. The writer is Friedrich Gotthold Hartwig, pastor at Grosshartmannsdorf, near Freiberg. The first part of the work, written with much circumspection and calmness, but with too great diffuseness, is chiefly taken up with the investigation of the testimony of the presbyter Caius, and with the refutation of the view that the Apocalypse teaches an earthly kingdom of Christ; the second part, among others, with the investigation of the testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria; the third part answers Semler's reply to the two first parts (in his Theolog. Briefe), and then seeks to unfold the plan of the book as a symbolic-dramatic poem in several acts and scenes; the fourth part treats of (1) the apostolic genuineness of the Apocalypse from internal signs—(*a*) from the seven epistles (ch. ii. and iii.); and (*b*) from the exact agreement of the book with the other writings and entire character of John; giving (2) an answer to the historical grounds of doubt still remaining, including a historical proof of the genuineness of the book. But before this work of Hartwig, there had appeared an exegetical treatise on the Apocalypse by J. G. Herder: "ΜΑΡΑΝ ΑΘΑ," das Buch von der Zukunft des Herrn, des Neuen Testamentes Siegel; Riga, 1779 (in Herder's Werken zur Religion

u. Theologie, Thl. xii.). He views the book as a work of the apostle John, but refers the whole contents, as Abauzit among others did, to the destruction of Jerusalem, which he also understands by Babylon, and to the disturbances and wars in Palestine preceding that catastrophe. In his letters on the Study of Theology (1780), Part ii. Br. 21, he expresses himself to the effect that he viewed the entire destruction of Jerusalem only as a sign, pledge, type of the final and greater end of things, and that the proper object of prophecy is to develop this end in such sign and pledge. Yet this point of view does not appear definitely in the interpretation itself. But he gives prominence to the practical particulars whereby the Apocalypse is a book for all hearts and for all times. By means of its warm and enthusiastic character, the Herder-treatment of the Apocalypse obtained much approval in its time, and succeeded in interesting many new friends in the book, at least in directing them to its formal and æsthetic beauties. Hartwig, in the above-mentioned work, attached himself specially to Herder in the historical relations of the Apocalypse.

Fully two years later appeared the work of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis, 2 vols., Gött. 1791, 8. He also considers the Apocalypse as a genuine writing of the apostle John, but brings out very little of its prophetic character. With regard to its meaning, he agrees essentially with the Strasburg theologian Johann Samuel Herrenschneider (in his Inaugural Dissertation, Tentamen Apocalypseos a capite 4 usque ad finem illustrandæ; Strasburg, 1786, 4). Eichhorn takes the whole as a general poetical representation of the victory of Christianity over Judaism which is symbolized by Jerusalem; and over heathenism, which is symbolized by Rome designated as Babylon; referring the phenomena of the fifth and sixth trumpets, exactly in the same way as Herder, to definite historical relations in the Romish-Jewish war which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. In respect to form, he views the Apocalypse as a drama with different acts and scenes, as Hartwig and David Paræus (1628) did. This mode

of treatment by Eichhorn certainly met with opposition in his time; for example, from Joh. Friedr. Kleuker (Ueber den Ursprung und Zweck der Offenbarung Johannis; Hamb. 1800), who objected to it on the ground that the properly prophetic character of the book was done away with. But in general it found much approval. It had the effect of making people more disposed to recognize the genuineness and the apostolic origin of the book, even without regard to its prophetic value; and it also found many followers with respect to the main points of interpretation, and the essential character of the whole. So also Joh. Heinrich Heinrichs mostly agrees with the interpretation of Eichhorn, in his Latin work on the Apocalypse, in the N. T. of Koppe, Vol. X. 2 parts, 1818—21, who, however, tries to make out that John the presbyter is the author of the book. Another theologian, Paul Joachim Sigismund Vogel, in Erlangen (died 1834), had tried to prove in seven programmes (1811, 16, 4), that the Apocalypse is the work of two different writers; that i. 9—xi. 29 was written by the apostle John; the remainder, probably by John the presbyter. An essay of mine, in the Theolog. Zeitschrift, Heft 2 (Berlin, 1820), pp. 240—315, "Beiträge zur Kritik und Deutung der Offenbarung Johannis," the former edited by Schleiermacher, De Wette and Lücke, refers to the two last-named writings, namely, to the first part of Heinrichs' Commentary and Vogel's Programmes. Some further contributions by me towards this object are to be found in my Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik (1846), especially pp. 182—200, 267 ff. 81, as well as in the before-mentioned copious review of the second edition of Lücke's Einl. in die Apok. (Theolog. Stud. u. Krit., 1854, Heft 4, 1855, Heft 1). In the first-named essay, I expressed my opinion that the whole Apocalypse was, without doubt, from one and the same writer, but was partly written before the destruction of Jerusalem, partly (from ch. xii. onwards) after it. This I expressly retracted afterwards (in the Beiträge), and declared myself in favour of the unity of the book, and the composition of the whole not long before the destruction of Jerusalem. On the

other hand, I have also, at a later period, held firmly other leading points which I sought to make conclusive in the first treatise, namely, (*a*) that the Apocalypse is not a work of the apostle and evangelist John, nor even falsely attributed to him by a later writer, but was composed by another John, the presbyter of Papias; (*b*) that it is not, according to the view of Eichhorn, merely a general poetical representation of the victory of Christianity over Judaism and heathenism, but has the determinate object of comforting and consoling the oppressed Christians of the time, by directing them to the nearness of the second coming of the Lord to earth; (*c*) that this advent of Christ is annexed to the fall of anti-christian paganism and particularly of Rome as its chief seat; that, on the contrary, the destruction of Jerusalem is nothing peculiar in the prophetic representation, and that even the visions in the first part, particularly in ch. ix., contain no references to definite historical events at the time of the Romish-Jewish war, which the author may have had in view.

In these points, Ewald and De Wette, among succeeding interpreters of the Apocalypse, agree with me in the main. Ewald, in his Latin work, by which the interpretation of individual portions is very much advanced: Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis exegeticus et criticus; Gott. 1828, 8. De Wette, in his Einl. in N.T., and his Kurze Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis (Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handb. über das N. T., Band III. Thl. ii., Leipzig, 1848, 8; 2 Ausg. mit Vorrede von Lücke, 1853). This Commentary is the last work of De Wette (died the 16th June, 1849), closing his literary and theological career in a highly worthy and edifying manner; particularly the Preface, written amid the severe political and social relations of the time. The Commentary itself is, with all its brevity, rich in matter and instructive, both for the interpretation of single parts, as well as for the right understanding of the object and spirit of the whole book.*

* De Wette in his Commentary made much use of Bleek's Heft on the Revelation of John, which the latter handed over to him complete.

A very significant and important work is that of Lücke, already mentioned in its first edition, which appeared a few years after the Commentary of Ewald: Versuch einer Vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannes und in die gesammte Apokalyptische Litteratur; Bonn, 1832, 8; 2nd edition (Versuch einer Vollständigen Einl. in die Offenb. Joh., oder allgemeine Untersuchungen über die Apokalyptische Litteratur überhaupt, und die Apokalypse des Johannes insbesondere), Bonn, 1852. This second edition is almost double the size of the first, fully thirty sheets more, and therefore as good as a complete revision. The work is divided into h ree books: (1) Conception and History of Apocalyptic Literature. (2) Consideration of the Apocalypse of John. (3) Theory and History of the Interpretation of the Book. With reference to the explanation of the Apocalypse, Lücke had already, in an earlier treatise, Theolog. Stud. u. Kritiken, 1829, Heft 2 (Apokalyptische Studien, in Beziehung auf Ewald's Commentar), so far approached nearer to Eichhorn, as to believe that not only Roman paganism but also Judaism is the anti-christianism which is to be overcome, without assuming a definite reference to the destruction of Jerusalem; and he held essentially the same opinion in the work already named, as well as in the second edition, although he admits that Jerusalem is not conceived of in such absolute opposition to the kingdom of Christ, as Rome, the new Babylon (against it, see my remarks in the Beiträge zur Ev. Krit. pp. 187 ff. and Stud. u. Krit. 1855, p. 163). With regard to the origin of the book, Lücke decides that it could not be written by the evangelist and apostle John. In the first edition, however, he had sought to make good the conjecture that it was written in the apostle's name by another, not exactly with the intention to deceive, who based it upon a revelation communicated to the apostle, partly corresponding to what the same apostle may have orally expressed, and developed it in his own manner. (Schott, Isagoge in N. T., § 116, Not. 5, had already put forward a similar view, that some Aramaic notes, made by the apostle John for his private use, lay at the foun-

dation of the visions communicated to him, which a pupil of his worked out farther). Yet Lücke at a later period retracted this view, in Theol. Stud. u. Krit, 1836. 3, pp. 654 ff., and agreed in the opinion that the book is the work of another John, who wrote and published it in his own name. And he expressed still more decidedly the same opinion in the second edition of the Introduction, holding it as most probable that the author was the presbyter of Papias. Very great care and diligence are here applied in proving that the Apocalypse could not be written by the author of the Gospel. Other scholars of later times, who are likewise convinced that the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse cannot belong to one and the same writer, have decided that the Apocalypse is by the apostle John, but not the Gospel. Thus Dr. Christ. Friedr. Jak. Züllig, Die Offenbarung Johannis vollständig erklärt, 2 Thle., 1834, 41, 8. The first part is in a popular style, for readers who are not learned; a form of treatment which is given up in the second part. The author refers the second part of the book, with Herder and others, to Jerusalem and Judaism, and explains Babylon of it also; he advances besides many singular, unnatural explanations. Still much valuable matter is to be found, especially in his remarks about the distinction between the essential in the prophetic contents of the book and the non-essential that belongs to prophetic form and dress. He places the composition of the Apocalypse earlier than any other of the more modern interpreters, 44—47 after Christ, and ascribes it to the apostle John, though the latter did not write the fourth Gospel. In the same light is the subject viewed still more decidedly by the entire Tübingen school of Baur, which considers it almost an article of faith that the apostle John wrote the Apocalypse. Schwegler first expressed this opinion in his treatise on Montanism (1841), and repeated it in his Nachapostolisches Zeitalter, Band II. (1846), pp. 249 sqq., as well as Baur himself (Kritische Untersuchung über die 4 Kanonischen Evangelien, pp. 345 sqq.), Schnitzer, Zeller, &c. These scholars find in the Apocalypse the judaizing standpoint which, as they

believe, must be pre-supposed in the apostle John, and therefore think themselves justified in refusing him the fourth Gospel.

Ferdinand Hitzig tried to establish another view respecting the author of the Apocalypse: Uber Johannes Marcus und seine Schriften oder welcher Johannes hat die Offenbarung verfasst? Zürich, 1843, 8. Dionysius of Alexandria had already mentioned John Mark the evangelist, as one who might be considered the writer of the Apocalypse; and Beza briefly mentions the assumption. Hitzig, however, asserts decidedly that this very person wrote the Apocalypse; and is able to give some plausibility to the assumption by his usual acute and confident manner. Weisse agrees with him; in a review of the book, Neue Jen. A. L. Z. (1843), No. 225 sqq. The supposition is rejected by Lücke, pp. 778—796, as it had been already by Ebrard in his treatise: Das Evangelium Johannis und die neueste Hypothese über seine Entstehung (1845), pp. 137—217.

Ebrard declares himself decidedly in favour of identity of authorship between the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, and the composition of both by the apostle John. So also in his explanation of the Revelation of John (in the continuation of Olshausen's Bibl. Commentary, Vol. VII.); Königsberg, 1853. The same has again been asserted in other quarters, in the last twenty or thirty years, for example, by Kolthoff (Apocalypsis Johanni Apostolo vindicata; Copenhagen, 1834); by Dannemann (Wer ist der Verfasser der Offenb. Johannis? mit einem Vorwort von Lücke; Hannov. 1841); by Guerike (lastly in the second edition of his Introduction to the New Testament); by Hengstenberg (die Offenbarung des h. Johannes, für solche die in der Schrift forschen erläutert; Berlin, 1849-51, 2 vols., the second in two divisions; 2nd edition, 1861, without essential alterations), and by others. A revolution in the interpretation of the book and the estimation of its value as a prophetic writing, is connected with the fact of taking the whole, as well as the single visions and images, as absolutely inspired predictions of the fortunes of the Church in

its struggles with the world, and so rejecting the assumption of a poetic envelope.

The political relations of the times exercised a particular influence upon it at the time of the war of freedom, as it had done before during the heavy oppression which weighed on Europe, particularly on Germany; and afterwards too, when the minds of the people were directed in excited expectation to the farther development of affairs, and were therefore led to seek for disclosures respecting them in the prophetic parts of the Bible, particularly in the Apocalypse. This had the effect of leading men to use the book much, and also tended to refer its contents in an especial manner to existing temporal relations as if foretold in it. Accordingly many interpretations of the book appeared, for a long time only of a popular kind, without a proper philological, historical foundation; and without receiving particular attention from scientific theologians. I may mention among these only the treatise of Friedr. Sander (Versuch einer Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannes; Stuttg. 1829, 8), who agrees with Bengel in particular, and finds in many things the relations and occurrences of his times, viewing 1847 as the decisive year when the millennial kingdom should begin, yet without disguising from himself the uncertainty of the calculation, so that he would not look upon it as a sure designation of time. It was not till a somewhat later period that a stricter representation of the prophetic character of the Apocalypse in general prevailed among scientific Protestant theologians; with which idea several attempts at interpretation appeared, which do not, however, refer precisely all the single visions to individual events in the history of the world and of the Church, as did many earlier interpretations; and do not differ very much in their spirit from one another. I mention, in particular, the following:—

(1) J. Chr. A. Hofmann: Weissagung und Erfüllung, 2 Hälfte (1844), pp. 300—378. He ascribes the Apocalypse to the apostle and evangelist John and the age of Domitian, believing that the

book may be best explained from this standpoint of the seer, according to which the destruction of Jerusalem had already happened a considerable time before. He does not assume a continuous series of prophecies, but several series running in part beside one another. For example, he characterizes it as a false supposition that the events introduced by the seven trumpets should follow the opening of the seven seals in temporal succession. The woman (ch. xii.) he interprets as the Hebrew Church; the wilderness to which she flees, the land of Israel; but so as to refer the contents of this chapter to the last time, the last half week of years, assuming that the land of Israel should actually become again the theatre of sacred history. He understands Babylon of Rome, and the seven kings in ch. xvii., not of single Roman emperors, but of seven different forms of worldly power: (1) Asshur with Nineveh, (2) Chaldea with Babylon, (3) Persia with Suza, (4) Greece, (5) Antiochus Epiphanes; these are the five which had fallen; (6) Rome's Cæsar. The seventh had not appeared at that time, which he takes to be the Germanic empire, and explains the ὀλίγον μεῖναι of remaining for a considerable time. The beast ascending out of the abyss he refers to Antiochus Epiphanes. Many things are not quite clear, as Hofmann properly supposes.

(2) Hengstenberg. He also puts the writing of the book under Domitian, towards the end of his reign. In this work, produced under severe illness according to the Preface, he differs from Hofmann in general, in explaining the Apocalypse as a whole and in single visions, by the former history of the world and the Church, viewing it for the most part as already fulfilled, which involves the fact of generalizing very much the interpretation of many single visions, pressing exceedingly the individual contents in other cases as it serves his purpose. He refers the prophecies of the book to the whole time, from the seer's age till the New Jerusalem; and withal to the external destiny as well as the internal condition of the Church, particularly its struggles with paganism. He assumes in the book

a number (7) of independent and completed groups, each giving prominence to special particulars, and supplementing one another. He attributes only a general preparatory character to the first of these seven groups (as far as ch xi. inclusive), i.e. to the phenomena at the opening of the seven seals and at the seven trumpet voices. The beast ascending up out of the sea, with the seven heads, he understands of the world-power, hostile to God in general, with seven phases; and refers the five heads notified as fallen to five earlier world monarchies—(1) the Egyptian, (2) Assyrian, (3) Chaldean, (4) Medo-Persian, (5) Grecian. He takes the sixth—the head wounded to death—as the Roman world-power. He views its apparently deadly wound as having been inflicted upon it by Christ's atonement; the seventh head and the ten horns he refers to the Germans, their kings and tribes, in round numbers, whose Christianizing (ch. xix.) is represented under the type of their conquest by Christ in battle. He looks upon the thousand-years' kingdom as having already expired, referring it to the period from the Christianizing of the Germanic nations to the expiration of the German kingdom, as the devil was bound during that period, so that he includes in it the period before and after the Reformation. He does not assume any reference to the Romish Church as a power hostile either to Judaism as such, or even to the worship of idols; but considers the essence of paganism here pictured to be only the fleshly mind with its determined hatred against God, against Christ and his Church. He does not accept the appearance of a personal Antichrist. He does not take the first resurrection in a literal sense, but refers it to the blessedness which begins to the faithful immediately at their departure from this life. The loosing again of Satan he refers to our present time, especially after 1848, the period of Gog and Magog. His looking at the phenomena of modern times in a moral and religious aspect exercised an unmistakable influence upon Hengstenberg's interpretation of the Apocalypse.

(3) Ebrard. This expositor, according to his own declaration

(p. 29), wishes to make a first attempt, different from all interpreters of the book before him, to separate strictly and throughout the interpretation of prophecy from the question of its fulfilment. Yet the entire character of his interpretation does not exactly produce the impression that he had this end in view throughout, in good earnest. The way in which he interprets the seven epistles (ch. ii. iii.) proves this; for he believes that types of the Church of later times are to be found in the condition of the Asiatic Churches here represented, as in the four first consecutively, from the apostolic time to the middle ages. He has much in common with Hengstenberg and Hofmann, but differs from them in many points; amongst other things, in assuming a definite reference to the Romish Church and the Papacy. He explains the seven heads of the beast as seven monarchies, of which the first is Assyria; the sixth—represented by the head wounded to death—the Romish, which is the beast ascending out of the sea (ch. xiii.), the same as the whore or Babylon (ch. xvii.); the ten horns are the Germanic and Slavic peoples of the dispersed nations, which inflict the wound upon the worldly power of the Romans, and bring it almost to destruction, but again recover, and figure in the new Roman empire formed with Rome into the spiritual centre, which still exists, compounded of Romish and Germanic elements; though in it, since the thirteenth century, the Pope, instead of the Emperor, always appears more and more as the real and ideal representative of such power. Of the Papacy itself, the Roman Chair as a spiritual power, he explains the beast ascending out of the earth (the false prophet). He refers the seventh head to the fact that those ten kingdoms, which first appear at the dispersion of the nations, will one day emerge as an independent power in place of the Romish; i.e. in the last time, that of Antichrist, yet only for a short time; whereupon the three-and-a-half years of the personal Antichrist, Babylon's fearful destruction and Christ's visible advent, will take place (ch. xvii. and following). He understands the 42 months or 1260 days (xi. 2, 3, xii. 6, xiii. 5)

as a mystic sign for the whole period from the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus to the conversion and restoration of the Jewish nation, or until the downfall of the Roman power, in its second phase, after the healing again of the wound that had appeared deadly; in short, till the appearing of Antichrist, during which time also fleshly Israel, in spite of their present unbelief, will be wonderfully upheld. He understands the two witnesses (ch. xi.) of the law and gospel. The three-and-a-half days (xi. 9, 11) he reckons, like the three-and-a-half times (xii. 14) as three-and-a-half years.

(4) Carl August Auberlen: Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis, in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss betrachtet, und in ihren Haupstellen erläutert; Basel, 1854, 2 Aufl., 1857. Auberlen is chiefly concerned with the book of Daniel, starts with it, and interprets the Apocalypse on its basis (from ch. xii. onwards); as is also the case with the interpreters already considered (2nd ed. pp. 266 and following). The beast ascending out of the sea he also understands of the world-power in general, and refers the seven heads of the beast to seven universal monarchies, of which the five fallen are, according to him, as well as Hengstenberg, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece; the sixth, the Romish kingdom; the seventh, the Germanic-Sclavonic kingdom, is that still continuing. Peculiar to himself is the interpretation of the woman (xvii. 3 and following), whom he holds to be the same as the woman with child (ch. xii.); this latter he understands to be the Church of God in its Old Testament and in its New Testament form. The wilderness to which she flies before the dragon (xii. 14), he refers to the taking away of the kingdom of God from the Jews, and its transference to the Gentiles, especially to Rome; all the time from the destruction of Jerusalem to the coming again of Christ. He holds the great whore (ch. xvii.) to be the same woman that sits upon the beast, understanding that the Church of God in the world has become a whore through apostasy; that is, the whole of Christendom all over the world; the Catholic

Church (the Roman and Greek), in a much deeper sense than the Evangelical; yet not that or any special single Church or ecclesiastical party. He thinks that the seven hills (xvii. 9) are, at the most, only an incidental allusion to Rome, which should not be considered the proper sense of the passage; by the hills, great kings, the great world-powers, are much more probably signified; that the beast slain as it were to death (xiii. 3) points to similarity with Christ (v. 6) and signifies outward Christianizing; that the death-wound should be referred to the seventh head, the seventh kingdom, which had become a Christian kingdom of the world, since the woman, the whore, allows herself to be carried by the beast. The pointed opposition between world and church is done away with; both make mutual concessions: secularized Christianity and a Christianized world is the fundamental type of the Christian centuries until the wound of the beast should be healed. The same beast revives, and returns out of the abyss, signifying that the Christian-Germanic world should again fall away from Christianity (modern paganism); that this healing of the wound of the beast has already begun in our time, in the beastly outbreak of the French Revolution, &c.; the eighth (xvii. 11) is the kingdom of Antichrist, which is to bring the entire world of beastly existences into complete manifestation. Auberlen takes the thousand-years' reign, as well as the first resurrection, in the proper millennarian sense, as still future, yet he leaves it undecided whether that number is intended to denote with chronological precision the continuance of the kingdom. He thinks that it should be especially taken in its symbolical significance—ten as the number of world-fullness, potentiated by the divine number three, viz. that the world is then actually penetrated by the divine.

I omit here the interpretations of modern Catholic theologians, as well as of non-German Protestants: see Auberlen, pp. 381 and following, on two of the latter; the Englishman Elliott (Horæ Apocalypticæ, &c., 4th ed., London, 1851, 4 vols.), and the Gene-

vese Gaussen (Daniel le Prophète, edit. 1850, in several volumes). Both interpret in an anti-Romish sense (especially Elliott), and adopt far more and exacter references to chronology and the historical relations of the Church down to our time than even the last-named German interpreters.

[Remark of the Editor: After Bleek's death there appeared as a worthy conclusion to the Commentary of Meyer on the New Testament, from Dr. Fr. Düsterdieck, Kritisch-exegetische Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis (des Meyer'schen Commentars 16. Abtheilung). Düsterdieck returns to the beaten track of Bleek, De Wette and Lücke. Whilst rejecting, on the one hand, the idea developed by Eichhorn, that the Apocalypse is a poetic description of the victory of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism; he opposes, on the other, those interpreters who find the most specific predictions of time, from the period of John to the final appearance of the Lord, whether they view the Apocalypse as a prophetic compendium of Church history (as Bengel), or (as Hofmann, Ebrard, Hengstenberg, Auberlen) find described "the great epochs and leading forces of the development of the kingdom of God in its relation to the world-power." Like Bleek, he finds the object of the Apocalypse to comfort oppressed Christians, by instructing them concerning the appearing of the Lord, wherein the present form of the Romish world-kingdom appears to the author as the last phenomenon of the kind that is to be overthrown by the speedy coming of the Lord. Düsterdieck puts over against Eichhorn's "rationalistic idea of inspiration," as well as Hengstenberg's "magic one," &c., the "ethical" idea, according to which the prophetic vision, which shapes itself by divine inspiration in the soul of the prophet, is conditioned by the whole subjectivity of the man (p. 45). This is pretty much the same view as that expressed by Bleek (Section iii.), "that the visions and prophecies are not an absolutely pure creation of the divine spirit; but that human weakness, worldly or personal individuality, has more or less influenced their form." But whilst it is uncertain to

Bleek whether the form of representation in the visions is not a mere envelope (see Section iii. 4), Düsterdieck holds firmly that the visions presented themselves to the writer just as he actually describes them, only "that the objects viewed shaped themselves in a moral way, according to the measure of the prophet's human subjectivity." Düsterdieck also contests decidedly, as did De Wette, Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, the authorship of the Apocalypse by the apostle John; and, like them, expresses it as a possible conjecture that the writer is identical with the presbyter John, who wrote the book shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem.]

III.

GENERAL INQUIRIES INTO THE APOCALYPSE.

We shall treat in succession: 1. Of its leading meaning and object. 2. Of its unity and time of composition. 3. Of its author. 4. Of its literary form, particularly the visions here presented. 5. Of the canonicity of the book.

I. On the leading Sense and Design of the Book.

We have seen how manifold the interpretations of the book are, even with regard to chief points, down to the latest time, and that not merely according to the different theological tendencies of interpreters, but also among those who take the same point of view in general, especially the stricter one. These latter so far agree, that they suppose the book to contain true disclosures of the future, such as have found or will yet find their actual fulfilment in the history of the Church. Yet we must not proceed at once upon this supposition, even according to the character of prophecy in general (upon which Bleek, Alttest. Einl. pp. 409—447); here especially, since our judgment upon the origin of the book is not yet established. We must therefore, *a priori*, suppose it possible that the prophecy contained in the book, or much that is prophesied in it, has not been fulfilled; and in the manner in which it is announced will not perhaps be fulfilled. We should, therefore, honestly endeavour, a thing which Ebrard justly sets forth as a condition of interpretation, not to be influenced by the

later history of the Church in discovering the meaning of the Apocalypse as a whole and in single parts. If we have searched out the sense as far as possible from the book itself, we may then direct our attention to this, viz. whether and how far it has already been confirmed in the course of the Church, and how far we are justified, accordingly, in expecting further verification and fulfilment from the future. Another thing which I wish to mention beforehand is this. The key to the understanding of the Apocalypse has been abundantly sought for in the prophecies of the Old Testament, especially those of Daniel. This appears natural, since so many prophetic representations of the Apocalypse remind one unmistakably of Old Testament descriptions, especially Ezekiel's and Daniel's. But the interpretation of Daniel's visions themselves is still disputed in many ways; then it is a main point in using them for the interpretation of the Apocalypse, to know not merely the proper original meaning, for example, of the visions of Daniel, but also, and still more, the way in which they were apprehended, at the time of the composition of the Apocalypse, among the Jews and in the Christian Church. It is at least possible to suppose that, even where the Apocalypse has borrowed certain images and representations from the Old Testament, for example from Daniel, it has them in a different relation and a somewhat different meaning to the Old Testament Scripture. But it is of importance, for the proper understanding of the Apocalypse, to compare throughout the religious conceptions and prophetic expectations that prevailed among the later Jews and in the early Christian Church, as we get to know them from other writings of the early Christian Church, particularly the New Testament, and also from those of the later Jewish literature; since we cannot doubt that these ideas were known to the author, and that he has had respect to them in many ways.

If we pass to an examination of the literal leading sense and design of the Apocalypse, we shall have no doubt, after the survey of the contents of the book previously given, that it is a

prophetic allusion to the future of the Church of the Lord until its completion. As to the economy of the book in general, ch. i.—v. readily show that they are an introduction to the prophetic disclosures of the future communicated in the following chapters. In them the seer is described to whom the revelation is communicated; the churches to which, in the first place, he is to communicate it; the transporting of the seer into heaven before the divine throne; the book closed with seven seals, which contains in itself the future; and he who alone is able and worthy to open the book and to loose its seals. In the following chapters the seven seals are successively loosed, and what takes place thereupon is set forth; a narrative which continues in uninterrupted succession as far as ch. xi. The seven seals are divided into 4 + 3, or 4 + 2 + 1; the opening of the four first is but briefly described, vi. 1—8; more fully is that of the two following, verses 9—17. The opening of the seventh seal is at first somewhat delayed by the preceding description of the servant of Christ with the divine seal, ch. vii.: even after the opening of it, silence takes place in order to fix the attention still more on its weighty contents, which, however, do not appear at once, but in a gradual development attaching itself to the trumpets of the seven angels. At this sevenfold blowing of trumpets, a division into 4 + 3, or 4 + 2 + 1, again takes place, similar to that of the opening of the seven seals. What appears at the four first trumpet-sounds is again specified very briefly and symmetrically (viii. 7—12); what was to be expected at the last three is then (verse 13), notified as a threefold woe to the earth; the two first woes, which appear at the fifth and sixth trumpet-sounds, are then described somewhat more fully, the former from ix. 13, as far as xi. 14. Hereupon it is again pointed out that the third (therefore last) woe will come quickly, and at the blowing of the trumpet of the seventh angel the mystery of God will be fulfilled (x. 6 and following, xi. 14); yet there is at the same time (x. 11) an intimation that the seer had a further commission to prophesy about many kings and nations. It is then related (xi. 15 and following) that the seventh

angel caused his trumpet to sound. After the preceding, one would expect that a description of the third and last woe would immediately follow, with which agrees also what is notified in heaven (verses 15—19) respecting the impression of this trumpet-sound. Yet we are led away thence by the following visions, from ch. xii. onward, which manifestly do not stand in so close a relation to the preceding, as to contents and form, as the preceding chapters to one another. On the contrary, what follows is closely connected with itself as far as the end, whilst the single visions are closely united to one another, describing the conflict of the Church of the Lord with the powers of the world and of darkness till its complete victory. The last struggle which Satan begins, and which ends for ever with his complete subjugation, is described, xx. 7—10. To it is annexed a description of the general resurrection, the last judgment, and the everlasting glory of the faithful and pious, as well as the place prepared for them after the renewal of heaven and earth. These representations have unmistakably a very poetical character; and it is clear that they cannot be meant literally, but have mostly a figurative, symbolical sense: yet we may doubt how far this is the case, and therefore such descriptions, particularly that of eternal glory, are sometimes taken spiritually, sometimes more sensuously and materially, according to the peculiar tendency of the times and the interpreters. But there has always been much more dispute in the Church about the meaning of the preceding visions, with which is connected the idea *when* that everlasting fulfilment of the kingdom of God is to appear, according to the sense of our book, and what sort of catastrophes are to precede it.

We now consider the section immediately preceding (xx. 1—6). The seer beholds the devil bound for a thousand years, thrown into the abyss, and so deprived of his destructive influence over the kingdom of God and its members. Farther, he sees that the souls of the faithful who suffered death in confessing their Lord, and did not give themselves up to the wicked one,

live again in order to reign a thousand years with Christ, whose victorious advent was already described (xix. 11—21), to reign as priests of God and of Christ, and as such not to die any more. Here it is asked, (*a*) whether the thousand years are meant as proper years according to men's usual mode of reckoning, or merely as a symbolical way of counting, and in what sense; and (*b*) when the period begins. We have seen, in the latter respect, that many interpreters, in opposition to millennarianism, have been of the opinion that, by the thousand-years' reign of Christ, none other can be understood than that which he established on earth at the time of his incarnation, and which had begun even when the Apocalypse was composed. This is the view which has prevailed in the Catholic Church since the fourth century, which is also to be found in Victorinus of Petabio, in most Protestant interpreters, as well as in Bossuet, &c. Others date the beginning of the thousand-years' kingdom later, but yet consider it as having not merely begun long since, but as already expired. Thus Grotius (and those who follow him), who reckons the thousand years from Constantine the Great on to the beginning of the fourteenth century; and lately Hengstenberg, who refers them to the time from the Christianizing of the Germanic nations to the expiration of the German empire. But here, first of all, the former assumption, that the thousand years begin with the incarnation of Christ, is unmistakably against the meaning of our book. A time of undisturbed peace belonging to the kingdom of God is clearly represented, in opposition to the preceding one of affliction and conflict, a time when the devil and his instruments would be powerless to exercise any disturbing influence and power over it, either in general or over individual members. Now the time when the book was written, whether we regard it as early or late, could not well be described in such a way, in contrast with any earlier one. There can be no doubt that this thousand-years' kingdom alludes to a time which had not begun when the book was written, and to one in which the Lord should return to unite his own people with himself in his kingdom. Accordingly we

find this hope almost in the whole Christian Church of the first age, the hope that the Lord would return, and that soon, no longer in the lowly form of a servant, which he had assumed at his first appearance upon earth, but in the complete glory and majesty belonging to him; and that he would then join his own people to himself in a kingdom of peace and undisturbed happiness, giving them a share in his glory and power. It is grounded in the essence of the historical manifestation of Christ at his incarnation, that prophecy revived with new power in his Church, pointing to the fulfilment of the kingdom of God and its complete victory over the world. Old Testament prophecy had already directed attention to this; but as the Messianic salvation expected at the first appearance of Christ upon earth was not fully realized by his own ministry or that of his disciples, Christian prophecy was directed very soon in a special manner to a second future of the Son of Man, to his glorious re-appearing. This is found even in the sayings of Christ himself, as they were apprehended and communicated by the disciples, especially in the three first Gospels, chiefly Matt. xxiv. xxv. In like manner, the same hope is found in most of the New Testament writings, if not always expressly stated, yet clearly lying at the foundation.

The raising of the deceased faithful from the dead in order to participate in this kingdom, beginning with the return of the Lord, is not peculiar to the Apocalypse. Already in Dan. xii. 2, we meet with the promise that at the time of the people's redemption (the Messianic salvation) there would be a resurrection of the dead; of the pious to eternal life, of the wicked to everlasting shame and contempt. In later Jewish theology, this idea was developed into a two-fold resurrection: (*a*) of the pious, the true people of God, at the appearing of the Messiah, when they should be re-awaked to take part with him in his kingdom; (*b*) of a later general one, at the last day, for universal judgment. Such distinction of two resurrections following each other closely in time, we do not find definitely expressed in the discourses of Christ. Yet the believers of the first age appear to have partly

adopted that view, namely, in such a way as to put the first resurrection, that of believers, at the time of Christ's glorious return. So we find it particularly in the apostle Paul, 1 Thess. iv. 14 and following verses, with 1 Cor. xv. 22 and following, 51 and following. Paul, indeed, does not speak expressly of the second resurrection, the general one, since he had no particular motive for doing so according to the object which he there pursues. Yet it is implied unmistakably in 1 Cor. Here, in the Apocalypse, the idea occurs in a more definite shape, according to which true believers rise again that they may participate in the thousand-years' kingdom, which is expressly signified as the first resurrection; whilst the general judgment of all the dead is placed after the expiration of these thousand years. Accordingly we find, and still more definitely, a double resurrection, that of believers at the return of the Lord, and the second general one at the last judgment, separated by different Church teachers of the early centuries, particularly by Tertullian, Methodius, Lactantius, &c. Undoubtedly, however, this idea was not quite general even in the middle of the second century, as we see most distinctly from Justin the Martyr (Dial c. Tryph. 80), where he will not allow those to be Christians who denied the resurrection, and assumed that souls immediately after death were taken up to heaven; but remarks that many pious and believing Christians denied a thousand-years' kingdom before the general resurrection, with whom, however, he does not agree.

As to the thousand years, we find opinions about the duration of the Messianic kingdom among the later Jews very different. The idea that seems to have prevailed among them at the time of Christ was that it would be of eternal duration; comp. John xii. 34, and Eisenmenger, Entd. Judenthum (Königsberg, 1711, 4), II. pp. 813 sqq. This idea might also have been founded on express utterances of the Bible. Yet other ideas also prevailed which made the Messiah subject to mortality, and assigned only a finite duration to his sovereignty with all its splendour. These we find expressly in later times; among others, that of a

duration of forty years, of seventy years, of four hundred years (so also 4 Esdr. vii. 28), of several thousand years, and also definitely of one thousand years (see Eisenmenger, l. c. pp. 809 sqq.). The latter duration, according to the assertion of several later Jewish writings (see Eisenmenger, Wetstein ad Apoc. xx. 2), a Rabbi Elieser, son of the Rabbi Jose, the Galilean, is said to have stated, for which he relied upon Isaiah lxiii. 4, "A day of revenge was resolved upon by me" (יוֹם נָקָם בִּלִבִּי), combining the passage with Ps. xc. 3, "One thousand years are in thy sight but as yesterday," which latter is also applied to the coming of the Lord (2 Peter iii. 8). It cannot indeed be maintained certainly, but it is not unlikely, that the idea in this form was not unknown to the Jews even in the apostolic age, whence it was transferred in the Christian Church to the duration of the kingdom beginning with the return of the Lord. Yet it is also possible that it assumed this form in the Christian Church itself. The combination of that passage in the Psalms with the narrative of the creation of the world might have had some influence, from persons considering the latter as a type of the destinies of the world, and therefore concluding that, as God had created the world in six days and afterwards rested the seventh day, so the world should be completed in six days, that is, six thousand years; but that the seventh day, that is, the seventh millennium, should become a time of undisturbed rest and Messianic bliss. So it is said expressly (Ep. Barnab. ch. xv.) that God completed the world in six days, meaning that he would complete everything in six thousand years; since, according to Ps. l. c., one day is a thousand years; and he rested on the seventh day, signifying that the Son of God, appearing after the dissolution of the present world-system, would keep a glorious rest on the seventh day (καλῶς καταπαύσεται). On this, his sabbath, God would cause all things to rest, and then make the beginning of the eighth day, that is, the beginning of a new world. It is manifest that the same idea is found here, in substance, as in the Apocalypse, that the kingdom of the

Messiah should last one thousand years after the second advent of the Lord, and the renewal of the world be annexed to it. When this Epistle was written cannot with certainty be determined; in any case, later than the Apocalypse. Yet the relation of both writings on this point is not of the kind that would make it probable that the author of that Epistle borrowed the whole conception from the Apocalypse. The brief manner also in which it is stated in the Apocalypse, makes it probable that the idea is not one newly expressed, but such as the author already found, and might pre-suppose as not entirely unknown to his readers; whether, as already mentioned, it had first taken this shape in the Christian Church itself, or had been found by the latter in the Jewish Church.

As to the real significance of the thousand years, it is most unlikely, from the probable form of the conception, that any other definite period of time should be meant than that denoted by the common use of language. Yet, on the other hand, it is not probable that the number should be strictly pressed, in the sense of our book, as a measured period of exactly one thousand solar or lunar years; but it may be assumed with probability, especially if the idea was already developed, at least it may be supposed, that the number here is only retained as a general expression to denote a very long period of undisturbed repose and happiness for believers, beginning at the return of the Lord.

We ask further, What does our book teach about the time when the glorious appearing of the Lord will take place and the thousand-years' kingdom begin, as well as the relations under which this will happen; what is to precede the catastrophe; and how is the Apocalypse related to the other writings of the New Testament? The Lord had expressly stated (Matt. xxiv. 26; Mark xiii. 32), and, according to Acts i. 7, even referred to it after his resurrection, that to know the time and seasons, namely, with regard to the coming of the kingdom of God in its completion, the Father reserved to himself; and in Matt. xxiv. 14

Mark xiii. 10, the announcement of the gospel throughout the whole world is specified by him as something which must precede. But, on the other hand, he exhorted the disciples to be always ready to receive him worthily. To this the apostle directed their attention primarily, and sought to direct that of other believers, that their looking forward to the coming of the Lord might be of use to them all, as an ever-living incentive, urging them to dedicate all their powers to the Lord and to the furtherance of his kingdom, that they might be found faithful stewards of the talents he had entrusted to them. Yet it cannot be denied that they generally cherished the hope that the glorious appearing of the Lord was near, so that they themselves or many of their contemporaries might perhaps live to see it. This may be recognized by the way in which several discourses of the Lord respecting the future, in the Synoptical Gospels, are reproduced and brought into connection with one another. We cannot but see that with the apostle Paul, especially in some of his earliest Epistles, this point of time to his mind appeared pretty near, so that he hoped to live to see the future advent of the Lord (comp. 1 Thess. iv. 15—17; 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52). But the expectation appears to have receded into the background with him at a later period. In James v. 7—11 also, the coming of the Lord (ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου) is specified as near; so also in the Epistle to the Hebrews (see especially x. 37). The same hope may also be discerned in our book, even in the first part of it. For when the Lord (iii. 11) says to the ἄγγελος of the church of Laodicea, ἔρχομαι ταχύ, there can be no doubt, according to New Testament usage as well as our book, that this is meant of the glorious re-appearing of the Lord (see also i. 17). So, too, when it is said immediately at the beginning (i. 3), ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς, there can be no doubt that this refers to the nearness of the time to which the hope of the believer was directed, when the complete inauguration of the kingdom of God should begin with the return of the Lord (comp. Luke xxi. 8; Mark xiii. 33; comp. also Apoc. x. 6 and following: ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται κ. λ.).

It appears, however, that our book does not merely specify this catastrophe in general as one which is near, but endeavours to indicate in a still more definite manner the point of its commencement. But in what way this is done is very doubtful, depending, as it does, upon the apprehension of the visions preceding the announcement of the thousand-years' reign. In general, especially in the closely-connected visions (ch. xii.—xix.), we find the sense easily discernible; that before the beginning of this reign, the adversaries of Christ and his kingdom, the devil and his associates, should be conquered by Christ and made powerless with respect to the continuance of that kingdom, deprived of all power to disturb its peace and happiness, after they had previously made the most violent efforts against it. The general idea lying at the foundation and confirmed by the whole history is, that an extreme effort of the opposite spirit of evil, falsehood and darkness, precedes every more important development of good and of the kingdom of Christ,—the kingdom of truth, of light and of peace,—and would all the more precede the completion of Christ's kingdom. Thus we find already in the prophets of the Old Testament, that the announcement of the Messianic salvation is usually appended to the most lamentable condition of the people of God and their most violent oppression by enemies. The discourses of the Redeemer also, communicated in the Synoptical Gospels, make it obvious that his re-appearing will not take place unless the greatest measure of suffering of all kinds for the people of God shall have been previously filled up. But it may be asked, in what manner, in what particular form, this general idea is individualized in the Apocalypse. Here the determination mainly depends upon the view taken of the powers which are introduced as the adversaries and combatants of Messiah and of God's kingdom. They are designated (from ch. xii. onwards) as different beasts, presented to the eye of the seer; so that the question arises, for what are we to take these beasts?

First of all there appears (in ch. xii.) a great fiery-coloured

dragon, with seven heads and seven crowns upon it, as well as ten horns. The interpretation of this is not doubtful, since he is already (xii. 9) expressly designated as the devil and Satan. Then appear (ch. xiii.) two other beasts, the one ascending out of the sea, the other out of the earth. The former is represented in its outward form as similar to Satan, also with ten horns and seven heads, but with ten crowns; it is said of him, that Satan has given up his might, his throne and great power to him. He is denoted as *the first* beast, and so distinguished (verse 12) from the other one ascending out of the earth (τὸ πρῶτον θηρίον); but for the most part simply as *the beast* (τὸ θηρίον). He is unmistakably the same beast (denied, but wrongly, by Züllig, Hofmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung, ii. 369, Ebrard) who is again introduced (xvii. 3), where he is likewise described as having seven heads and ten horns; but where an unchaste woman, denoted as Babylon, sits upon him. The other beast (xiii. 11 and following) ascending out of the earth has two lamb's horns, but talks like a dragon. He is expressly described, in what follows, as the false prophet (xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10); and his employment is to procure worshippers for the first beast, working for that purpose by signs and wonders. The second beast appears generally as subserving the first. The latter seems, from the whole description, the true counterpart of Christ, and armed with all power by the devil to make the most strenuous exertions in fighting against the kingdom of Christ and of God. The description of this beast is unmistakably borrowed from the representations given in the book of Daniel about an adversary of the people of God, who endeavours in every way to oppress the latter and to annihilate the worship of the true living God; who should even put himself in the place of God (see Dan. vii. 8, xx. 21, viii. 23—25, and especially xi. 21—45.) These descriptions in the book of Daniel refer, in the first place, to the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes, from whom the Jewish nation, particularly those who held firmly to the worship of Jehovah and the law of their fathers, had so much to suffer. But as in the

book of Daniel the announcement of the commencement of the Messianic salvation is annexed immediately to the representation of the hostile attempts of that adversary against the worship and people of Jehovah, as well as his final destruction, and is also united to the resurrection of the dead, it was natural to take the prince as the type of a still future adversary of the people of God, immediately preceding the coming of the Messiah, and to regard individual features in the description of his essence and working as a direct prophecy of such an one. How far that was done among the Jews as early as the time of Christ and the apostles cannot perhaps be ascertained. Somewhat later, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the idea of such an Antichrist, under the name of Armillus, is found among them, whose origin and significance is uncertain; but his appearance is pictured by them in a very fabulous manner, viz. that he should be born at Rome out of a stone pillar-image, claim for himself divine honour, go to Jerusalem, and there slay the first Messiah, the son of Joseph or Ephraim, but should finally be destroyed by the second Messiah, the son of David. This development of the conception certainly belongs to a later time; but the idea itself, of an Antichrist preceding the appearance of the Messiah and to be overcome by him, may have been already known to the Jews at the time of Christ. So much may be regarded as certain, that the idea took shape in the Christian Church somewhat early, and with reference to the time of the glorious appearing of the Lord expected as near; having been specially borrowed from those passages of the book of Daniel. We find it accordingly in the apostle Paul in one of his earliest Epistles (2 Thess. ii. 3 and following), where he tells his readers that they must not suppose the day of the Lord as too near, as commencing immediately; for before that, must appear ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντικείμενος κ. ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεὸς (verses 3, 4), the ἄνομος, ὃν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταργήσει τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ (verse 8), οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ

παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους κ. λ. Daniel's description lies unmistakably at the foundation of this one. How widely the expectation of such an Antichrist, who should appear before the day of the Lord, was spread among the Christians, at least in the latter time of the apostolic age, appears especially from 1 John ii. 18, &c., iv. 3, where the apostle John, with undoubted reference to this idea, gives his readers to understand that they had for a sign of the ἐσχάτη ὥρα being present, to wait for a single person to appear as Antichrist, since many considered as Antichrists had already appeared; for every one is to be looked upon as such who denies that Jesus is the Christ. The first beast set forth in the Apocalypse, partly with Danielic features, who in vision ascends out of the sea, is unmistakably this Antichrist, either as a single person or as a power and collective personality; for the appearing of Antichrist was to precede the coming of the Lord, even according to the Pauline description.

But this idea of Antichrist appears in the Apocalypse modified in a particular manner, and more definitely developed than in Paul, for example; so that we are led to direct our view to a precise historical person, single or collective. The question then is, what person we are to think of according to the purport of the book. As, besides this beast who represents Antichrist, a different one is introduced as the false prophet who procures for him adherents and worshippers by his signs and arts, we are led to suppose that Antichrist himself is not meant as a spiritual power in particular, but rather as an outward worldly power which Satan makes use of for oppressing the Church of the Lord. The (10) crowns with which he is adorned intimate this (xiii. 1, xvii. 3), and especially the fact that (xvii. 10 and following) the seven heads and ten horns are expressly interpreted of kings. The question then is, what worldly power is meant? An index to it was manifestly meant to be given in xiii. 17 and following, when the number of the name of the beast is specified as 666. Here it would be quite unnatural, since *the name* of the beast is

the point, to understand, as many earlier interpreters do, the 666 as a number of years during which the sovereignty of the beast should perhaps last. Much rather we may assume with the greatest probability that the single letters with which the name of the beast is written give together, as ciphers, the sum before us. Even here, however, it is disputed which language, the Hebrew or the Greek, be intended; and whether the determination of the value of the letter is founded upon the one or the other; besides, as we have already seen, there is a sort of uncertainty in the text by its having, besides 666, another and very old reading, 616. But the usual reading has preponderating testimonies in its favour. As to the former question, several of the most modern interpreters who have attempted to decipher the number, believe that they must assume the numeral value of the Hebrew letters. But that is, *a priori*, improbable in a book written in the Greek language, and in which we have no reason for supposing that it is a mere translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, and which is addressed chiefly to Christian churches in proconsular Asia, where Greek was the only prevailing tongue even among the Jews there. The way also in which the Infinite Eternal One is denoted by αλφα and ωμεγα (i. 8, xxi. 6, xx. 13), leaves no doubt that when a name is here designated by a number, without expressly explaining in what language, Greek letters are meant. Even if we set out with this supposition, it will be always difficult and doubtful to guess what (Greek) name is properly concealed under that number; and the discovery that a definite name contains this number as the value of its letters in Greek would not warrant us to assume the correctness of the interpretation, if other hints in the book respecting the beast did not agree. Here we are led in the right way most correctly by the vision (ch. xvii.). There sits upon the beast, as already remarked, an unchaste (idolatrous) woman, who is described as the mystical great Babylon. This can only be meant of a city which, like the old Babylon, at the time of the dominion of the Chaldees, showed itself particularly hostile to the people and worship of God; the same (verse 6) is

described as drunken with the blood of the saints and the witnesses of Jesus, intimating that she had already inflicted bloody persecutions upon the confessors of the Lord. The description, so far, would at all events permit us, with Abauzit, Harenberg, Hartwig, Herder, Züllig, &c., to think of Jerusalem with reference to the hostile attitude which this city had assumed against the Lord and his confessors; in which respect it is said of it (xi. 8), that it καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος. Yet it does not apply to Jerusalem that the city (xvii. 18) is described as βασιλείαν ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς, which leads us rather to think of Rome. Still more decisive is verse 9, according to which the seven heads of the beast refer to seven mountains upon which the woman sits. Here it is quite unnatural when some interpreters, as Hengstenberg and Auberlen, prefer to take the mountains in a figurative sense as kingdoms, great kings, or world-powers. Ebrard remarks rightly, that since the mountains appear in *the interpretation* of the vision, they can only be meant in a literal sense as real mountains, namely, seven mountains upon which Babylon is situated. It has indeed been attempted, even with reference to Jerusalem, to point out seven hills there; so Lakemacher, Observat. sacr. Part iii. p. 288 (opp. Wolf.), who names as such, Zion, Akra, Moria, Bezetha, and the three points of the Mount of Olives. But this is highly arbitrary. The Mount of Olives lay outside Jerusalem, and least of all can it be supposed that it should be reckoned as three different mountains. The seven mountains obviously appear as something characteristic and significant; and they appear in such a manner only with regard to Rome, of all cities of antiquity, so far as we know; so that when a city, without further notice, was described as a seven-hilled one, situated upon seven hills, all at once the thought of Rome arose. The passages collected by Wetstein (ad l. c.) show how usual this appellation of Rome was.

If we cannot doubt after this that Rome is meant for Babylon, —the woman sitting upon the beast,—the beast upon which she sits must be thought of as standing in a special and near relation

to Rome, according to the purport of our book. We may suppose accordingly, if we take in what has already been observed, that the world-power in general is not meant by this beast, as many take it (for example, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Ebrard, &c.), but, more definitely, the world-power at that time, the Roman monarchy, Romanism. We may also conclude that the name concealed under the number 666 must have a particular reference to Rome and Romanism. The earliest interpretations of this number that have come down to us we find in Irenæus (adv. Haeres. v. 30). He says one may find several names in the 666, according to the Greek interpretaion of numbers; and, as an example, he quotes three, in which the letters together give 666. (1) Εὐανθάς ($\overset{\varepsilon}{5} + \overset{\upsilon}{400} + \overset{\alpha}{1} + \overset{\nu}{50} + \overset{\theta}{9} + \overset{\alpha}{1} + \overset{\varsigma}{200}$). (2) Λατεῖνος ($\overset{\lambda}{30} + \overset{\alpha}{1} + \overset{\tau}{300} + \overset{\varepsilon}{5} + \overset{\iota}{10} + \overset{\nu}{50} + \overset{o}{70} + \overset{\varsigma}{200}$). (3) Τειτάν $\overset{\tau}{300} + \overset{\varepsilon}{5} + \overset{\iota}{10} + \overset{\tau}{300} + \overset{\alpha}{1} + \overset{\nu}{50}$). Irenæus says of the two last names, they have some probability. Yet we cannot take into account the last, Τειτάν; still less, the first, Εὐανθάς. The middle explanation, on the contrary, Λατεῖνος, must appear very suitable, after what has been said; and even Irenæus would have given it more decidedly the preference, if a certain timidity, arising from the power of Rome, still heathen at the time, had not prevented him from speaking out more decidedly. Hippolytus also holds this interpretation as the most probable (see Lücke, p. 967). It may be assumed, I believe, with great probability, that such interpretation, which is also approved of by many later interpreters (also by Hävernick and Elliott, Lücke, ed. 2, pp. 284 and following), is not merely the correct one according to the purport of the book, but that it has been handed down by a kind of tradition from the time of its composition to the age of Irenæus.

Besides the seven mountains of the city, seven kings also are symbolized by the four heads of the beast, according to xvii. 10. We have seen that many interpreters—so also Hofmann, Heng-

stenberg, Ebrard, Auberlen, &c.—understand this of kingdoms, of world-monarchies following one another in succession; the first being looked upon either as the Egyptian or Assyrian; the sixth, as the then existing Roman one. But this interpretation is decidedly at variance with the sense of the book, because, from what has hitherto been said, the Roman power is the beast itself, not one of its single heads. Hence we are the more induced to understand the seven kings of seven Roman rulers. And without doubt only seven emperors of Rome can be meant. For when it is said (ib.) that five are fallen (οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν) and one is (ὁ εἷς ἔστιν), the other is not yet come (ὁ ἄλλος οὔπω ἦλθεν), this can only mean that just then, at the time of writing the Apocalypse, or when the revelation communicated in it was received, the sixth of the kings symbolized by the seven heads was reigning, which can only be meant of a Roman emperor. By the five, who in contrast with the sixth one still existing, are denoted as οἱ πέντε, and as such ἔπεσαν, we can only understand, in like manner, five Roman emperors, namely, those who preceded the sixth, in immediate succession, in the government then existing; we cannot doubt, also, that we have to commence the series of these kings with him who was considered the first of the Roman emperors, namely, with Augustus. It would indeed be possible to begin the series with Cæsar, and then the sixth would be Nero. Yet it is, as already said, more likely in itself that the series begins with him who is actually recognized, like his successors, as an independent ruler, as a king or emperor, viz. with Augustus; and that such is the meaning of our book can be still less doubted for other reasons which will soon appear. Hence the five first, who had fallen and were no longer living and reigning, were the following: (1) Augustus, (2) Tiberius, (3) Caligula, (4) Claudius, (5) Nero. The εἷς, of whom it is said that he is (ἔστιν), that is, then alive and reigning, would then be the successor of Nero, who died A.D. 68, on the 11th June. Galba followed Nero, and we must think of him as the then reigning emperor. But as he reigned for so short a time

(died A.D. 69, January) and was not acknowledged in all dominions of the Roman empire, still less were Otho (died 69, the 16th April) and Vitellius (died 69, the 20th December), we may at least suppose that these three are not counted here, and that Vespasian, if he reigned at that time, may be reckoned the sixth. Meanwhile we will leave this undetermined, as we must return to it again later on. Of the seventh king it is said (ib.) that he (ὁ ἄλλος, that is, the one still remaining of the seven) had not yet come, and that when he comes he will only remain a short time. With him the number seven of the kings, symbolized by the heads of the beast, would then be completed. But an eighth is spoken of (xvii. 11). We may suppose, *a priori*, of this one, because he passes beyond the number seven, that he has a special significance. We are led to this when it is said the beast which was and is not (ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν), is both the eighth and also of the seven, ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν, which, according to the contrast, cannot well mean anything else than that he has already been one of the seven. It appears to be signified that the character of the beast, the idolatrous Romanism and anti-christianism, would manifest itself in a single emperor in such a manner as to appear concentrated and personified in him, so that he may be viewed as embodied anti-christianism. Accordingly he is described, on the one hand, as a future one, as the eighth, therefore as the second successor of the ruler then reigning; on the other hand, as already existing in the person of one of the seven, without doubt as one of the five first that had already fallen. This may be understood in a two-fold sense, either that in the eighth the wickedness and whole anti-christian mind of the beast, which had already appeared in one of the earlier kings in an especial manner, should be repeated, so that he might so far be considered a repetition of that earlier one; or that after the seventh, the earlier one should really return in person. That the latter interpretation is the correct one, is shown by other passages of the book itself, particularly xiii. 3. It is said there, namely, at the first appearance of the beast, the seer saw

one of its heads wounded as if to death (ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον); yet its (the beast's) deadly wound is again healed, to the astonishment of the whole world; with this comp. ib. verse 12 (τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον, οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ), verse 14 (τῷ θηρίῳ, ὃ ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρας καὶ ἔζησεν). These passages can only mean that the beast appeared mortally wounded in one of his heads, impotent and destroyed, but recovered again. Corresponding to this is also xvii. 8, where it is said of the beast that he ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου; and ib. βλεπόντων τὸ θηριον, ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ παρέσται; verse 11, τὸ θηριον, ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι. The beast is accordingly described as even then apparently destroyed, but that he should again appear, namely, to begin, with new strength and renewed anger, a struggle with the confessors of the Lord. But as it is said here, especially in the first passage, that one of the seven heads appeared wounded to death, it is clearly implied that one of the seven rulers, by whose deadly wound the beast was rendered impotent, appeared to be destroyed, was not actually dead, for that he still lives, and would again manifest himself as the bodily Antichrist, and, according to the other passage (xvii. 11), as the eighth of the kings, consequently after the death of the successor of the emperor then reigning. The description of the wound also, from which the beast appeared to be slain, is more easily explained as a sword-wound (xiii. 1), on the supposition that the sense is not identical merely with a collective or abstract idea, that of Romanism or Paganism, the Roman monarchy and such like. It is in the highest degree improbable that that mode of expression would be applied, if such a relation were meant as the weakening of the Roman power by other nations; to which it has been repeatedly referred, or even (as Hengstenberg and Auberlen take it), by Christianizing, by its outward conversion to Christianity. The expressions appear natural only when they are explained of a definite person.

The question then is, what person are we to think of according to the purport of our book, that is, which of the seven first

Roman emperors, or rather of the five first, that had already fallen, is the one whom we are here to suppose as the emperor who, though considered dead, still lives, or will revive and again come to light? This does not immediately appear from the statements of our book in themselves, but may perhaps if we compare the hints here given with the ideas and expectations of the time as known to us from other sources. Accordingly we cannot doubt that Nero is meant, the fifth of the Roman emperors, and the last of those who are designated as having already fallen at that time. Nero had fled from Rome when the Senate declared against him and for Galba; and when his pursuers were about to overtake him, he killed himself with his sword, with the aid of his freedman Epaphroditus (Sueton. Nero, xlix.). His corpse was interred with solemnity. Nevertheless, the very general belief arose soon after that he had not actually died, but was still living and staying on the other side of the Euphrates, among the Parthians to whom he had fled, and among whom he was collecting auxiliaries to return again with them and conquer and destroy Rome. Suetonius (Nero, lvii.) relates that, soon after his death, edicts appeared as from one still living, who would return within a short time to destroy his enemies. This popular belief several times induced adventurers to give themselves out as Nero, when they always found some adherents. Such an one appeared immediately after his death, and was able to collect about him a considerable faction in Greece and Asia, until he was finally taken captive on Cythnus by Calpurnius Asprenas, and slain (Tacit. Histor. ii, 8, 9, where he at the same time intimates that several of the kind appeared still later; comp. 1, 2: Dio Cassius, lxiv. 9, and Reimar. ad h. l.). According to Zonaras (Annal. xi. 18), there appeared also, under Titus, a false Nero, who got for himself a faction in Asia Minor, advanced towards the Euphrates, increased his party still more, and escaped at last to the Parthian king, who received him out of hostility to Titus, and was even on the point of advancing against Rome. This is very probably the same adventurer whom Suetonius (l. c. Nero, lvii.) mentions, although he says that he

arose twenty years after the death of Nero, which would have been under Domitian; he says of him, that he had made himself of such repute among the Parthians, ut vehementer adjutus et vix redditus sit (comp. Dio Chrysostom [under Domitian, Nerva, Trajan] Orat. xx. de pulchritudine, pp. 371 D, who says, with reference to Nero: καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ οἴονται). The same belief is also found among the Christians a considerable time after the death of Nero, viz. that the latter still lived and would return, in such a form, too, as to have the expectation of Antichrist connected with him. Nero, as the first of the Roman emperors who, after the great burning of the city of Rome in July, 64, probably begun by himself, a fire which lasted eight days and destroyed about two-thirds of the city, had inflicted bloody persecutions on the Christians, pointing to them as the originators of this fire, and so endeavouring to turn away the suspicion of it from himself. He caused the Christians at Rome to be tortured and put to death in the most revolting and cruel manner, so that the impression produced by the horrors perpetrated remained indelible even to a later time. This persecution, which found fuel against the Christians in the unfavourable disposition of the heathen people, appears not to have been so transient or partial, or merely confined to Rome, as is at present generally supposed to be the case. It seems to have lasted several years, and in many points to have entirely suppressed the flourishing Christian church for a longer time. Even without express commands from the emperor, it was natural that the governors in the provinces should follow more or less the example set them from above and in the chief city. The apostles Paul and Peter, among others, were victims of this persecution. To it, and the horrors attendant upon it, exhibited in Rome against the adherents of the Lord, several references may be found in our book, particularly xvii. 6, where the woman sitting upon the beast, the mystic Babylon, i.e. Rome, is described as drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus; in xviii. 20, where heaven, the saints, the apostles, and

prophets are summoned to rejoice over the fall of Babylon because God has avenged them on her; comp. xviii. 24 (*καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αἷμα προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὑρέθη καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐσφαγμένων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*). Now it is not improbable that the Christians believed that the time had come, even during this persecution, when, according to divine decree, the kingdom of evil and of darkness should lead on to the last and extreme battle against the kingdom of God, resulting in its destruction; and that they already recognized Antichrist in the cruel author of these sufferings, after whose destruction they hoped that the fulfilment of the kingdom of God should take place. It might happen all the more readily, since, on the one hand, after the disappearing of Nero, an essential change in the outward relations of the Christian Church to the world did not directly appear; and, on the other hand, the popular belief considered him as still alive, expecting that he would soon return with renewed strength. This idea shaped itself among the Christians in such a way that he would still more manifest himself in his essence as the bodily Antichrist. The idea may be found very frequently re-appearing in the Sibylline Oracles; already in the fourth book, written about A.D. 79, 80, according to clear signs. Here it is said, first of all (verses 116 and following), with reference to Nero, that after the murder of his mother and the accomplishment of many other abominable deeds, he would flee invisibly out of Italy, as a fugitive, beyond the Euphrates. After the destruction of the Temple and desolation of the Jewish land has been spoken of, and the earthquake in Italy (under Titus, A.D. 79) is described, we read (verses 132 and following): "Then shall they discern the anger of God, because they killed the innocent race of the pious (Christians); towards evening war will arise, and the great fugitive of Rome (Nero) will raise the sword, and with many myriads of men ride through the Euphrates (return over the Euphrates)." Thiersch indeed (Versuch zur Wiederherstellung des historischen Standpunktes für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften, 1845, pp. 324 ff., 410 ff.), will not admit my acceptation of the Sibylline passage; he

refers it (so also Hengstenberg, Apok. ii. 1, pp. 107 ff.) to a past historical fact, to the historical appearance of that false Nero under Titus; and he places the writing of these forty-two books of the Sibyllines in a later period, in the second century, after Trajan (see also Lücke, Nachträge, p. 1071). But that conception of the Sibylline passage with reference to an occurrence long since past is certainly false; and the view of the time of the composition maintained by me is most probably the correct one (see Stud. u. Krit. 1854, 4, pp. 977 ff.). More frequently does the same idea about Nero occur again in other parts of these Sibylline writings, which were composed somewhat later, especially in the fifth and eighth books, of which the former in its present form and extent was composed by a Jewish Christian living in Egypt in the beginning of the reign of Hadrian; but the latter seems to have been written, for the greatest part, towards the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about A.D. 170—180. So Book v. 28 and following, where it is said of Nero, that he, δεινὸς ὄφις, although vanished out of the sight of men, was still bringing destruction and would return, giving himself out as a god, but would learn that he is not so (verses 93 sqq., 130 sqq., 214 sqq., 361 sqq., 408 sqq., viii. 68 sqq., 145 sqq.). The same idea is found in the apocryphal writing of Isaiah, ἀναβατικὸν, which was written originally in Greek by a Christian author, probably in the second century, and still exists in an Ethiopic translation; in its second part (from ch. vi. on) the Visio Jesaiæ is also extant in an old Latin version. Here (iv. 2), among other things, the prophecy is put into the mouth of Isaiah, that when, after the ascent of Christ to heaven, moral corruption would prevail in the churches, when people would depart from the doctrines of the apostles and contend about the return of the Lord, the prince of this world, Belial, should descend from the firmament in the form of a godless king, the murderer of his mother; the saints would be delivered into his hands; the people would sacrifice to him, call him God, set up his image in all cities; but the duration of his sovereignty would only be 3 years, 7 months, 27 days = 1335 days (Dan. xii. 2).

The Lord would then come with his angels and cast Belial into Gehenna; to which are appended the resurrection of the pious, the destruction of the world, the last judgment, and the annihilation of the wicked. As it runs in the apocryphal work of Isaiah, Belial will descend in the form of Nero; it is not expressed very definitely that Nero should return in person; yet such is probably the meaning, as it is quite clearly expressed throughout the Sibylline books. In this shape the idea continued among many even to the fourth century and later. Lactantius, De mortibus Persequutorum, 42, says expressly, many believed that Nero still lived as a fugitive murderer of his mother, a finibus venturum, ut qui primus persequutus est idem etiam novissimus persequatur. Sulpitius Severus (in the fourth and fifth centuries) says expressly that it was opinione plerorumque receptum, that Nero, whose wound was not deadly, should appear as Antichrist. Histor. sacr. II. xxviii. 1, xxix. 6; cf. Id. Dialog. II. ch. iv., where he quotes in this respect the opinion of Martin of Tours, who distinguishes Nero from Antichrist, and makes both appear together, the former to subdue the West, the latter the East. Compare farther Jerome, on Daniel xi. 28, where he says that many of the Christians expected Nero as Antichrist. Id. (in Isaiah xvii. 13) ad Algas. quæst. ii.; Augustin, de Civitate Dei, xx. 19. If now we consider this idea about Nero, which maintained itself so long in the Church, and is met with there soon after the death of the tyrant; and if we compare the passages relating to it in the Apocalypse, we can hardly fail to see that the same idea lies at the basis of the present description; that Nero, the head of the beast, is apparently killed by a sword-wound, from which he again recovers, to the astonishment of the world; and that one of the seven or of the first five Roman kings will return as the eighth, coinciding with the beast as the personal Antichrist, in order to do battle against the kingdom of God and the confessors of the Lord with all the power of Satan, until he himself be conquered by Christ and cast into the lake of fire.

It is not probable, after what has been said, that this idea

about Nero returning as Antichrist was first adduced in the Apocalypse, but rather that the book attached itself to an idea which had already taken form among the people and in the Christian Church, though it here appears modified in a particular way, involving the more definite mark that he should return as the eighth. More of this, however, by and by. But many even of the special features in which the future appearance of Antichrist is portrayed, or which are connected with it, find their explanation in a comparison of the ideas and expectations of the time as known to us from other sources and existing in the Sibylline books. To them belong the entire relation of the beast to the woman sitting upon him, i.e. of Antichrist to the city of Rome, the new Babylon. It might readily appear strange that it is said, in xvii. 16, the beast (together with the ten horns) shall make war upon the woman, destroy and burn. But it corresponds to the entire conception, which we find repeated, particularly in the Sibylline books, that Nero, on his return from the East with his confederates, should lay waste and destroy the city of Rome which had cast him out. So Book v. 342—369. Here the terrible signs are described which shall come to pass at the last time, whereby Italy in particular is threatened with disasters; from the farthest ends of the earth a senseless mother-murderer will come (Nero, from beyond the Euphrates) to overpower the whole earth, and forthwith to occupy the city, because of which he himself perished (viz. Rome), to slay many men and even great princes, and to burn all, as he had already done before. Comp. Book viii. 70 sqq., where it is intimated that the fugitive matricide should return from the extremities of the earth, under Marcus Aurelius (under whom this oracle was probably composed), and that Rome should fall. Comp. ib. 145 sqq., where Nero is likewise spoken of as one who should come out of Asia over the sea for Rome's destruction.

In the same way it is explained how, according to the purport of our book, the ten horns of the beast, with the ten crowns,

should be taken. According to xvii. 12, they are also ten kings. But because they are symbolized by another image than that of the Roman emperors denoted by the seven heads, it may be supposed that they are not of the same kind, not perhaps ten Roman emperors following each other, attached to those seven, in point of time. From the intimation given in the explanation of the angels, they do not appear to be ten kings following one another, but those who should receive power together, and at the same time with the beast, just as kings; acting unanimously they should prove themselves entirely subject to the beast, deliver to him all their power, make war against the Lamb in vain; but in union with the beast tread down and burn (xvii. 12—17) the woman they hate (Rome). They appear, therefore, as subordinate allies of Antichrist, who, at the return of Nero, would march forth to fight against Rome as well as the kingdom of God. This was expected of Asiatic and particularly of Parthian princes, as appears from the passages in Roman writers formerly adduced. The same may be found in several parts of the Sibylline writings; thus it is said of Nero, in the earliest of the passages before quoted (Book iv. 135), that he would return with many myriads of men over the Euphrates; further, in v. 100, where one is spoken of, who, as leader of the Persians, should make war on the whole world and destroy everything, which is most probably meant of Nero; Book v. 143 sqq., where is mentioned Nero's flight from Babylon, that is, Rome; to which is appended his union with the kings of the Medes and Persians, as well as Rome's destruction; Book viii. 9 sqq., where doubtless Nero is meant, when it is said of one that he shall bring terrible evils upon men at the last time, and lead formidable heathen kings to the West (therefore from the East). This idea probably lies at the basis of the Apocalypse also, in the kings symbolized by the horns of the beast, as confederates of Antichrist, where the number ten must not be pressed, but can only be borrowed from Daniel's description of the fourth beast (Dan. vii. 7) furnished with ten horns.

This explains what another passage of the book means (xvi. 12), where we read that when the sixth of the plague-angels had poured out his vial on the Euphrates, the waters of the stream dried up, that the way might be prepared for the kings of the East (ἵνα ἑτοιμασθῇ ἡ ὁδὸς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου). By these kings of the East we are without doubt to understand the Asiatic princes of whom it was expected that they would conduct Nero back, who had been concealed among them, as his allies. That they might proceed freely and without hindrance, although in the service of Antichrist, to accomplish the divine purpose in reference to them (as it is also said (xvii. 17) that God ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ), the vision introduces the drying up of the water of the Euphrates, which they had to cross in the march against Rome.

As to the false prophet, we find already in the discourse of the Redeemer (Matt. xxiv. 11—24; Mark xiii. 22) that before his future coming many false prophets would arise, as well as false Messiahs; performing signs and wonders, leading many astray, and attempting to seduce even the elect. Compare with this, 1 Tim. iv. 1 sqq. In the Apocalypse, a single false prophet is presented as assistant of Antichrist, in whom the essence of false prophecy appears concentrated and personified by all the arts of falsehood, even by signs and wonders directed to the furtherance of idolatry and anti-christianism. In this development there appears, as peculiar to the Apocalypse, the idea of a second individual in connection with Antichrist, and working for him; the idea, at least, cannot have been so general as that of Antichrist himself; the powers and qualities also, in which he is here depicted, are transferred in part to Antichrist himself. But we have no reason to suppose that in the present description the view of any single person, who had already appeared active, lay at the foundation of it; rather does it seem a prophetic description referring to the future, precisely like that of the return of

Nero as Antichrist, and that of the future appearing of the Lord himself.

The same remark applies in general to the plagues standing in close connection with the announcement of the appearance of Antichrist, as well as of Christ; those plagues especially which are adduced in ch. xvi., as appearing upon the earth, while the seven plague-angels pour out their vials in succession. Here we may assume with certainty that single occurrences of the then past or present are not depicted, but that we have a prophetic representation of the future, of that which should take place at or immediately before the return of the Lord; and it is only possible that perhaps this thing or that, what happened just at the time to which the book and its visions belong, formed the substratum of the individual descriptions.

But it may be asked how these prophetic descriptions are related to our own past, present and future. Upon this I remark briefly as follows:

(*a*) With reference to the thousand-years' reign. This appears in the Apocalypse, not as the completion of the kingdom of God, which according to our book takes place in the New Jerusalem, but as a preliminary close of the conflicts of God's kingdom with the world and its powers, a period of time denoted as a thousand years, when the faithful and pious, particularly those who had fallen asleep before and were awakened for that purpose, should reign with Christ upon earth in undisturbed peace and happiness, after the destruction of all earthly hostile powers and the binding of Satan. We may view every epoch of the Christian Church, in which an important progress of the kingdom of God, with the conquest of hostile powers, takes place, as a partial fulfilment of the utterances of Scripture, especially those about the Lord's coming; but in everything which the history of the Church presents, only a partial and preliminary fulfilment, not a complete one, is perceptible. As it is decidedly contrary to the meaning of the Apocalypse to make the thousand-years' kingdom begin with the incarnation of Christ, so that the author

considered the time already present; every view is inadmissible, according to the purport of our book, which supposes the thousand-years' kingdom as already expired or only begun. The interpretation of Hengstenberg in modern times belongs to this category, making it extend from the Christianizing of the Germanic nations to the end of the German empire. Thus the times of the middle ages, with the greatest splendour of the Papacy, and the age of the Reformation, as well as that after the Reformation, are supposed indiscriminately to be the thousand-years' kingdom, including times when the most horrible deeds were perpetrated by the Romish Church and other ruling powers against true confessors of the Lord, as in the wars against the Albigenses and Waldenses, against the Huguenots, in the Inquisition, and the night of St. Bartholomew, as well as many others. Auberlen (pp. 415 sqq.) refers to these very appropriately against Hengstenberg. It may be affirmed with certainty that the seer himself would not have found in these times the fulfilment of his prophecy respecting a kingdom, before whose commencement earthly hostile powers should be destroyed, and during which Satan himself should be bound, and deprived of all power to injure the kingdom of the Lord and believers. It is certain that we decide in accordance with the sense of the book itself, when we consider the thousand-years' kingdom as a state of development belonging to the church or the kingdom of God which has not yet appeared, no more than the glorious return of the Lord in close connection with it, and the first resurrection of the believing and faithful awakened to participate in it. All this, according to the meaning of our book, must certainly be taken literally; not, as Hengstenberg does, in relation to the happiness of believers beginning at their death.

(*b*) With reference to Antichrist. In the past history of the Church, it may be pointed out that every epoch which reveals a special progress of the kingdom of God precedes a time in which the anti-christian element comes forth with peculiar power; and every time of the kind may be considered as a partial and pre-

liminary fulfilment of the prophecies of Scripture respecting destruction and mischief in the last time, and so respecting the appearance and activity of Antichrist. But it may be said, on the other hand, that these prophecies have not yet found their complete fulfilment, and that the author of the Apocalypse himself would have seen in none of the phenomena since the establishment of the Christian Church an entire fulfilment of the visions in question. On the contrary, if we consider them according to their essential meaning, we are led to think of a *person's* appearance, before the glorious coming of the Lord, armed as an instrument of Satan and with Satanic powers. None of the adversaries of the kingdom of God has shown himself such; consequently we must think of a personal manifestation still future.

(*c*) Herewith we must not forget that, in all prophetic elements of Biblical doctrine, the properly dogmatic part of the description and essential idea cannot be strictly separated from the conscious or unconscious poetical and figurative element of the envelope, before the complete fulfilment. As prophecies and visions in the prophets of the Old Covenant are not an absolutely pure creation of the Divine Spirit; human weakness, national or personal individuality, having always influenced more or less their form, we must grant the same also in reference to the prophetical intuitions of the apostles and New Testament writers, and in relation to the visions of the Apocalypse, even if we consider it a direct apostolic writing and its visions actually presented to the apostle in immediate revelation; still more so, if this be not looked upon as certain. But we may even now perceive this much, that the Apocalypse considers and represents as pretty near both the glorious coming of the Lord and the appearance of Antichrist. The thing is not peculiar to the Apocalypse. As already remarked, it cannot be denied that the Christians of the first time generally, and also the New Testament writers, cherished the hope that the glorious appearing of the Lord would not be very distant, would perhaps take place in their own lifetime. Such form of hope was

necessary to the believers of the time, to sustain them against the manifold sorrows and struggles with which they had to contend both outwardly and inwardly; and we shall do well if, after their example, we continually keep in mind that future as near; like them, finding in it an incentive to direct all our energies to this, viz. to be found by the Lord watchful and true at any time he may come. Many exhortations of the Lord himself as well as his disciples refer us to it; and also the Apocalypse most certainly. But this view of the nearness of the glorious appearing of the Lord supposes that the utmost exertions of the hostile powers, or the coming of Antichrist, are impending; and so Paul speaks of the appearance of the ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας as the Apocalypse does of the last revelation of the beast. Both writers do not keep themselves in such generality; they proceed in their announcements still more definitely, but in a somewhat different manner. Paul speaks of something (Thess. ii. 6 sqq.) or of some one stopping, hindering (τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων), which must first give way, before Antichrist, the man of sin, can appear; what he means he only intimates, but supposes it known to his readers; what it is, is doubtful in the highest degree among interpreters. But it may be assumed with great probability that the Roman monarchy and its head at that time is meant; and that the idea is directly connected with the usual interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel then prevalent in the Jewish as well as the Christian Church, so that it is not essential to the peculiar Christian consciousness of Paul; nor would he himself have claimed unlimited authority for his hints about the matter. Besides, he does not expressly say how soon or long after the removal of that κατέχων Antichrist should appear, although an expectation undoubtedly appears to lie at the foundation that it should take place at a not very distant period. But the Apocalypse advances still more positively in the matter. It describes clearly as the personal Antichrist returning Nero, and specifies definitely that he should appear as such after the reign

of the seven (first) Roman emperors, symbolized by the seven heads of the beast; the sixth of whom, according to xvii. 10, was reigning even then; consequently, after the death or retirement of the successor of the prince then reigning, who was to continue only for a short time. In the former respect there is a direct connection, as we have seen, with the ideas pretty generally diffused soon after the death of Nero in the Roman kingdom, and especially in Christendom; how far this is the case with the latter statement, or whether it be peculiar to the Apocalypse, cannot be definitely ascertained. So far as the appearing of Christ is connected with that of Antichrist, we must say that the Apocalypse has sought to determine about the future of the Lord and the complete manifestation of his kingdom, both time and circumstances, in opposition to the declaration of the Lord, according to which the Father has reserved this to himself. Hence it is natural to think that the Apocalypse, apart from its other significance, can have no normative authority for us in these particulars. But it is quite unsuitable, and is shown in the preceding remarks to be against the meaning of the book, to use its announcements according to some calculation or other for discovering the precise time or year when the return of the Lord and other catastrophes connected with it will happen. As to the plagues (ch. xvi.), they are expressly described (xv. 1) as the last plagues (πληγὰς ἑπτὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας); they stand in near relation to the appearance of Antichrist and the coming of the Lord. For this reason it is inadmissible to refer them to special events in the past history of the Church, whether in the early centuries or later; in none of them would the seer himself have considered his vision fulfilled. The images in which these plagues are introduced are of such a kind as to make it unlikely that they are meant for announcements of individual occurrences about to happen in this succession; they are only general images descriptive of the severest times for the world, preceding the appearing of the Lord and the perfecting of believers.

The case is similar with regard to the visions of the first part till ch. xi. end, where, from ch. vi. and onward, the seven seals of the book of the future are opened; and, from ch. viii. onwards, what is shut up in the contents of the seventh seal is gradually brought to light at the trumpeting of the seven angels. These, too, are for the most part plagues which shall be poured out upon the earth, and therefore we cannot but expect them to be plagues preceding the appearing of the Lord, i.e. such as, according to the purport of the book, would appear shortly. But it is a question who is to be smitten by these plagues; and how they are related to the time of the seer. Here many interpreters are of opinion that the visions all refer to Judaism and Jerusalem; not merely such interpreters as Abauzit, Hartwig, Herder, &c., who even in the second part understand Jerusalem by Babylon, but also those who interpret them rightly of Rome, as, for example, Eichhorn. The contents of these visions are referred to events and relations which immediately preceded the destruction of Jerusalem at the time of the Jewish-Roman war, whether they be taken as prophetic indications of the same; or, with Eichhorn, as poetical representations of occurrences which the seer lived to see. The latter is decidedly false. Ch. xi. has given occasion for referring the whole to the destruction of the Jewish land, and particularly of Jerusalem. Here, undoubtedly, Jerusalem and a divine punishment to be inflicted on it are expressly mentioned. But the manner in which they are spoken of clearly shows that the Temple and city still existed at the time of the vision. For,

(*a*) In verses 1, 2, it is only announced that the holy city would be trodden down forty-two months by the heathen, and that the forecourt of the Temple would be delivered over to them; a destruction of the city and of the Temple itself is not spoken of here; it is even signified unmistakably that they should be placed under God's immediate protection.

(*b*) After speaking of two martyrs who were slain in the city in which the Lord also was crucified, afterwards awaking

again and ascending to heaven before the eyes of their enemies, it is said that a tenth part of the city would fall by a great earthquake and seven thousand men perish, and that the rest should be terrified and give glory to the God of heaven (verse 13). The description could not possibly have run in this strain if the destruction of the city had already taken place, not by an earthquake, but by heathen nations—not a partial, but a complete destruction of the city together with the Temple. In the Apocalypse a total destruction of the city and Temple is manifestly not spoken of; rather is the hope expressed that by the destruction which God should bring upon a part of the city and its inhabitants through an earthquake, the rest might be led to repentance, and so be spared divine punishment; that even the Temple might remain safe, without being profaned by heathens. For this very reason it is not allowable, as Eichhorn thinks, that the destruction of Jerusalem should be intimated in the verses immediately following (verses 15—19); where it is said that at the trumpet of the seventh angel loud voices in heaven proclaimed that the kingdom of the world had become that of our Lord and of his anointed who should reign for ever; and that the twenty-four elders in heaven praised God that he had taken to himself the sovereignty; that his judgment of the dead had come, to give his prophets, saints and worshippers, great and small, their reward, and to destroy the spoilers of the earth; finally, that in the midst of thunder, lightning and earthquake, the temple of God in heaven had opened, and the ark of the covenant appeared in it. Not the least hint is to be found here of a destruction of the city of Jerusalem. Some justification of the supposition that the expression may refer to this catastrophe, could only be entertained if the preceding context contained intimations that the discourse *must* be of it. But such is not the case with respect to the preceding part of the chapter; rather the contrary.

In like manner (in ch. vi.—x.), there is no intimation that the plagues described there were specially inflicted on the Jewish

land and people, or their chief city. Of the rider upon the fiery-red horse at the opening of the second seal, it is said that power is given him to take away peace from the earth, so that men might slay one another (vi. 4); and of death and Hades on the pale horse at the opening of the fourth seal, that power is given them over the fourth part of the earth to slay with sword, hunger, pestilence and wild beasts (vi. 8); but it is not said that Judea in particular should be destroyed. It is very unnatural, and there is nothing to justify it, when Herder, for example, makes this to refer to individual historical events at the beginning of the Jewish-Roman war. The contents of the fifth seal (vi. 9—11) point to the divine vengeance which should come, not at once, but soon, upon those who slew the confessors of the Lord because of their faith; yet they are not designated as Jews, but as the inhabitants of the earth in general, the κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; by which formula we are rather induced to understand heathen nations. Here, therefore, there is not the least intimation which would justify us in supposing that in what follows the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish nation are represented as a punishment for their unbelief, and their hostility to the confessors of the Lord. Quite as little is there to be found in the description of the great and fearful phenomena, at the opening of the sixth seal (vi. 12—17), any hint that the inhabitants of the Jewish land in particular should be overtaken or terrified by them; rather are we induced by verse 15, particularly by the βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, to think of heathen kings. In the case of the fearful phenomena at the four first trumpets (viii. 7—12), whereby in succession a third part of the earth, of the sea, of the rivers and streams—finally, of the sun, moon and stars—is struck and injured, there is absolutely no intimation, and it would be very unnatural to adopt the opinion, that the Jewish land especially is meant as the scene affected. After the fourth trumpet-sound (viii. 13), a three-fold woe is proclaimed by a voice from heaven as impending over the inhabitants of the earth (τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπι τῆς γῆς), by reason

of the remaining three trumpet-sounds; where such designation clearly shows that the plagues still impending and now adduced cannot be intended for the Jews in particular. On that account it is in the highest degree improbable that we should suppose zealots and robbers to be intended in our book (as Herder, Eichhorn, &c., think) by the fearful army of locusts, which, as the first of the still remaining woes, appears at the fifth trumpet (ix. 1—12); though Judea was fearfully plagued and desolated by these zealots and robbers immediately before the Jewish-Roman war and during it. Nor by the myriads of riders, who (ix. 13—21) appear as the second woe, at the sixth trumpet-sound, should we understand the Roman army under Vespasian, as Grotius did. Least of all can it be conceived that both, viz. the furious conduct of the zealots, with the attacks and desolations of the Roman army, can be described in this manner after the destruction of Jerusalem. If the zealots had been meant by the locusts at the first woe, without doubt these would have been adduced as *objects*, not merely as *instruments*, of divine punishment; the raging of the zealots also would not be described expressly as the thing by which men should not be killed, but only fearfully tormented for five months, so that they would wish for death without finding it. Just as little can the fact apply to the zealots that all who were marked with the seal of God as his servants and confessors of the Lord, and none else, should remain exempt from this plague (ch. vii.) Nor can it be supposed that the Roman army under Vespasian, tolerably numerous as it was, yet consisting only of 60,000 men—an army which advanced from Galilee and from the sea-coast against Judea and Jerusalem—could have been described in a manner so fearfully hyperbolical, as would be the case if the plague of the sixth trumpet referred to it; for the number of riders advancing from the Euphrates is specified as 200 millions, and the horses are described as beasts which slay with their snake-like tails and with their mouth out of which proceed smoke and brimstone. According to verse 18, a third part of men generally die

by this plague; and from the description of the crimes in verses 20, 21, whence the men who still remain do not desist, showing no amendment after the plague, it clearly follows that heathen and idolatrous nations are meant. Thus in the whole series of visions (ch. vi.—x.), nothing leads us to suppose that the plagues introduced were directed especially against the Jewish nation or their capital. We are, therefore, not justified in concluding that the destruction of Jerusalem itself was meant to be prophetically or poetically described in what follows; nor this, as we have seen, be expected after the way in which ch. xi. speaks of punishment to be inflicted on a small part of Jerusalem, while the rest of the inhabitants turn to God and repent.

As to the proper interpretation of these images, it may be gathered from the preceding remarks how I believe it should be regulated. First of all, it is certainly false when the plagues here described are referred individually to this or that event happening during the Roman-Jewish war or before it. They are plagues inflicted before the appearing of the Lord upon the earth, because of its hostility to the kingdom of God; and the fact that they are here adduced before the judgment, which, according to ch. xi., is to come upon a part of the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants—so that the latter, as well as the former, are thought of as close at hand—shows that the coming of the Lord himself was also expected as near. It is also inadmissible to apply a definite fulfilment of single images to the individual events and relations of later times. Agreeably to the entire nature of the images, it is not probable that they are meant for definite predictions of individual historical events; but only as general symbolical pictures, to represent manifold divine judgments about to be inflicted on the world for its sinfulness and enmity to the kingdom of God, even before the last judgment expected at the coming of the Lord. One may say, indeed, that partial fulfilments have already occurred in the past history of the Church and of the world, and still occur

repeatedly; but this applies to the general idea which lies at the foundation of the images, rather than to the contents of this or that individual image.

As to the form of the images themselves in our book, it is carried out in a peculiar manner. But, on the whole, they are closely connected with the descriptions of the Old Testament prophets, as well as with those of the later Jews regarding the Messianic kingdom, and the afflictions and catastrophes preceding it; and are in part borrowed from these, more or less plainly. For example, in the description of the swarm of locusts appearing at the fifth trumpet (ix. 1—11), that of the book of Joel evidently lies at the foundation of it, since a similar plague of locusts is represented as a sign of the nearness of the divine judgment-day, to which is attached immediately a divine promise of the Messianic salvation. We must also look upon the description of the two witnesses (ch. xi.), their martyrdom as well as their glorification, as borrowed essentially from some other source. According to the way in which they are described, in one relation as well as another, it is in the highest degree unnatural to understand by them law and gospel or their representatives, as Ebrard, for example, does. The meaning is without doubt that two human individuals, standing in an exactly similar relation to the gospel, are depicted. And as it is said of them that they appear in Jerusalem, and to their martyrdom is joined the announcement of the punishment impending over a part at least of this city,—Herder, Eichhorn, Heinrichs, and Wetstein too, &c., supposed that two Jewish high-priests were meant, Ananus and Jesus, who distinguished themselves by their discretion while the city was threatened by the Romans; continually seeking to curb the blind rage of the zealots, and to lead the people against them. The zealots, therefore, called in the Idumæans to their aid. The two sought to hinder them from entering, but in vain. The Idumæans pressed into the city, and in the night a massacre took place among the more moderate party of the Jews, in which over eight thousand of

them were slain; the slaughter continued on the following day, when both the high-priests were seized and murdered, and their dead bodies thrown away unburied; though, as Josephus says, "the Jews are so much concerned about burial, that they even take away and bury before sunset those executed" (B. J. iv. 5, 2). Josephus says expressly, that the death of Ananus in a manner laid the foundation for the conquest of Jerusalem; that with him the walls sank, and the state went to the ground. But it is impossible that these two men can be meant by the two witnesses of the Apocalypse. However much the high-priests may have distinguished themselves above the zealots by discretion, yet, in a book like the Apocalypse, they cannot be called witnesses for God's kingdom, especially as it is known of Ananus in particular that he was a decided opponent of Christianity, and even caused James, the Lord's brother, to be executed. Of this also there can be no doubt, that what we read here is not a historical or poetic description of a fact then patent, but a prophetic vision of two martyrs who should appear in the Jewish nation before the coming of the Lord, whose preaching should not be attended with success among that generation, but yet should glorify God after their death, and so bring about the conversion of men. There evidently lies at the foundation of this a general and comforting idea, confirmed by the history of the Church at several periods, that the men by whom the Church of the Lord is advanced with considerable success—as, for example, Luther—are preceded by the efforts of others, at a greater or less distance of time, who, having already recognized the same need, worked to that end without similar favourable results—men appearing even to fail, though their endeavours are by no means to be regarded as lost. Rather should they be viewed as essentially promoting the advent of that to which their strivings are directed; they themselves finding recognition and glorification directly after their death. So, for example, John Huss stands in relation to Luther. In such men, one may see partial fulfilments of the vision without referring it precisely to them.

Much more probably are witnesses meant who precede as forerunners the last revelation of the Lord himself at his second advent, as John the Baptist preceded the first coming of the Lord. This idea is not peculiar to the Apocalypse, but was doubtless met with before, partly in the Jewish Church, where Elias in particular, and also Jeremiah and Moses, were expected as forerunners of the Messiah. The idea was then transferred in the Christian Church to the time of the glorious coming of the Lord. That two prophets of the Old Covenant—the one Elias, the other Moses—are here meant, may be assumed, as we shall see, with great probability. Yet the description of their activity is carried out in a peculiar manner, and connected with the fate of Jerusalem. This depends, at least partly, upon the position generally assumed in the book towards Jerusalem and Judaism.

On closer consideration, such position appears quite different from that assumed towards Rome and Romanism. Rome is the Babylon which is to be entirely destroyed; and Romanism coincides with anti-christianism. Not so Judaism. The book, indeed, knows of Jews who slander the truth and form the synagogue of Satan (ii. 9, iii. 9); but it designates them as persons who are not really Jews, having appropriated the name to themselves falsely. This is a different fact from that which appears, for example, in John's Gospel, where οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are so frequently put, without further notice, to describe such as resist the Lord in a hostile manner; the chiefs of the people in particular. Jerusalem is undoubtedly designated as the city (xi. 8), ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα κ. Αἴγυπτος; and a divine punishment is inflicted upon it. But it is also, in relation to the heathen, directly described as the holy city (τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν, xi. 2), and as the beloved city (xx. 9); only a small part of the city and its inhabitants are destroyed; whilst it is said of the rest that, full of terror, they give the God of heaven the glory (xi. 13), intimating in this connection that they themselves go in and are saved with the remainder of the city and its Temple (xi. 1). On the

contrary, it is repeatedly said of other men, the idolaters, that they could not be induced to repent by the divine judgments, but hardened themselves the more, and blasphemed God (ix. 20, 21, xvi. 9, 11, 21). Undoubtedly the prominence given to the one aspect as well as the other depends upon the human individuality of the seer. As he himself belonged to the Jewish nation, he appears attached to his people with true love; and, although sorry at their unbelief, he seems to have cherished the hope that they would soon be all converted and form the stem of God's people. This is discernible from the manner in which the believers are presented to him in the vision (ch. vii.), who are marked with the seal of God; and from the hope that Jerusalem and its Temple would be still farther the centre of the nation and of the worship paid to the true, the living God. It appears therefore false, and not in accordance with the purport of our book, to think, as in particular Herder does, Eichhorn too, and in part Lücke, in his two editions, that both Romanism and Judaism are looked upon as the anti-christianism to be conquered.

Thus much may suffice for preliminary observations on the meaning and design of the book in general. With them are connected such questions as the following:

II. On the Unity of the Book and the Time of its Composition (Lücke, § 58—60).

Both should be treated together; for, with the question about the time of the book's composition or the reception of the visions presented in it, we have to take into consideration whether the work, as it lies before us, forms a unity, a connected whole, written continuously without any break; or whether it consists of several parts, the composition of which, as well as the reception of the visions related, belong to different times. It cannot be mistaken that the second part (ch. xii.), is not connected in such a manner with the series of preceding visions

as one would properly expect from the whole course of the narrative. Ch. iv.—xi. form a closely connected series of visions, which introduce the phenomena at the opening of the seven seals of the book of fate; and at the seventh seal the disclosure of what was shut up in it is gradually linked on to the trumpets of the seven angels. That which should appear at the three last trumpets is (viii. 13) described as a three-fold woe still impending over the inhabitants of the earth; then it is said (ix. 12) that with the fifth trumpet one of these three woes is past and two woes are still to come; comp. x. 7, according to which an angel swears that there shall be no more delay, but when the seventh angel shall sound the mystery of God will be completed, according to his prediction to the prophets; and (xi. 14) that the second woe is past and the third cometh quickly. As it is now said (xi. 15) that the seventh angel sounded his trumpet, one would properly expect that the last woe should be immediately introduced; a description of the last plagues which should be inflicted upon the whole earth before the return of the Lord and the inauguration of his kingdom. With this agrees also what follows, that at the trumpet of the seventh angel loud voices had proclaimed in heaven that the kingdom of the world had become the kingdom of our God and of his anointed, who should reign to all eternity; that the twenty-four elders in heaven had praised God for having taken to himself the sovereignty; and that his judgment upon the dead had come in order to give his prophets, saints and worshippers, great and small, their reward, and to destroy the spoilers of the earth (verses 15—18). This can only mean the last judgments at the second coming of the Lord, forming the third woe. In connection with this appears also ib. verse 19. When it is there said that the ark of the covenant appeared in the opened temple of God in heaven, the idea is attached to that of the later Jews, viz. that the ark of the covenant (which had been lost at the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldæans, and which, since then, was no longer in the Holy of Holies, neither in the temple of Zerubbabel nor in that of

Herod) should again come to light at the appearance of the Messiah or the commencement of the kingdom of God. An intimation is contained in this that the day of the Lord, the time of the inauguration of his kingdom, had come; and when it is said, still further, in the same verse, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμὸς καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη, this, from its connection with the preceding, can only be a hint or intimation of the divine punishment just announced. Herewith we expect that the judgment should now be directly and more minutely described as the third and last woe, whose appearance is repeatedly announced expressly and solemnly. But instead of that, we are (ch. xii.) conducted to another series of intuitions clearly beginning with the birth of the Messiah and his being caught up into heaven, which soon followed that event. These, therefore, go back to an earlier period in the history of the kingdom of God than that spoken of in the preceding visions generally; for all pre-suppose Christ in his present condition, after returning to his heavenly Father, and refer to relations of the future. Even Vitringa perceived that the contents of ch. xii., &c., do not stand in a progressive relation to the preceding visions. He makes a new series of visions commence here, supposing them to run parallel with that which appeared at the sixth and seventh trumpets; so that the catastrophes already announced are carried out here in a more special manner. But this mode of interpretation is insufficient, both because the preceding series of visions does not at all appear concluded at the end of ch. xi., as one would expect if the following were meant as nothing more than a repetition and more specific delineation of what had appeared at the two last trumpet-sounds; and also because what follows (ch. xii.), as already remarked, evidently refers to an earlier period of the kingdom of God than the contents of the seventh seal; generally, indeed, to an earlier time than the standpoint whence prophecy proceeds in all the foregoing ones. On the other hand, it is still less admissible to assume, with Vogel, l. c., that the second part, ch. xii.—xxii., was composed by itself as a writing origin-

ally independent of the preceding, and even by another author. Not to speak of the great similarity of language and description in both parts, which leaves no doubt of the writer's identity, there are in the last part unmistakable retrospective references to the first, which do not allow of the assumption that the one was originally written without reference to the other. Thus, for example (xiv. 3, xv. 7), it is supposed as known that the ζῶα (cherubim) and the twenty-four πρεσβύτεροι surround the divine throne, which could only be done in connection with the description given in iv. 4—6. In like manner, it cannot be mistaken that the 144,000 who (xiv. 1 sqq.) appear with the Lamb on Mount Zion, bearing the name of the Lamb and his Father written on their foreheads, have reference to iv. 7, where the same number is given as that of the servants of God marked on their foreheads with the divine seal. An independent prophetic writing, also, could not commence, as in xii. 1, καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, even not without the καὶ. There can be no doubt that the second part was originally written with reference to the first, and by the same author. I put forward the conjecture in my treatise in the Theologische Zeitschrift, &c., that the Apocalypse, according to its original sketch, may have had another conclusion, in which the prophecy after ch. xi. may have continued to its end in the same manner as it did before, but that the author himself afterwards changed that original ending for the present second part (ch. xii.—xxii.), in which the prophecy commences over again and is continued to its end, the completion of the kingdom of God, on a somewhat different plan. Instead of this, one might suppose it thus: that the writer originally carried out his prophetic description only as far as the end of ch. xi., and may have been prevented by some accident from adding the termination immediately. Here it may be conceived that, when he returned to it later, he continued and completed his work in a manner somewhat different from the original plan. In the treatise already named, I found a confirmation of this assumption in the marks of date presented by both parts,

according to which the first must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem; the second part probably later and after that catastrophe. But I subsequently retracted this assumption of the composition of both at different times (Beiträge z. Evangel. Krit. p. 81); and I believe, too, that no sufficient ground exists for it. As to the first part, there can be no doubt in my mind that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, which is now admitted by many interpreters and critics; for ch. xi. pre-supposes not merely the existence of the city and Temple, but contains the hope also that the latter would remain unprofaned and unhurt, and that the inhabitants of the former should repent after the punishment inflicted on a part of them, and so escape destruction. From other passages, especially vi. 9—11, it follows that the Christians had then suffered from the world, and doubtless the heathen world, bloody persecutions; and that no small number of them had died as martyrs for their belief. This refers most probably to the persecution by Nero (after A.D. 64). Accordingly the composition of the first part would fall between 64—70, since the persecution appears to have begun some time a few years after 64, and at least some time before the destruction of the city, perhaps between 66—70, between the last years of Nero and the beginning of Vespasian's reign. As to the second part, it pre-supposes still more plainly that Rome had then persecuted the Christians in a bloody manner; Rome is described as drunk with the blood of the saints and the witnesses of Jesus (xvii. 6). Compare with this, xviii. 24, where it is said that in it the blood of the prophets and saints and of all slain upon the earth was found; and xviii. 20, where the saints, the apostles and the prophets, are addressed as the inhabitants of heaven, as those whose blood God has avenged by the fall of Babylon. This implies that several apostles had already died in or by Rome; or at least, after having been persecuted by it, were now no longer alive. Yet these passages do not point directly to a later time than that of Nero or the one immediately following; since in Nero's persecution the apostles Paul and Peter, at least,

died at Rome. But the chief passage which determines the date of the second part is xvii. 10, in connection with what precedes and follows. Hence we may safely assume, in my opinion, as we have already seen, that it was written after the death or disappearance of Nero, under his successor as the sixth of the Roman emperors. It only remains uncertain whether Galba or Vespasian is to be considered this successor. I declared in favour of the latter assumption in the treatise before referred to ; for the former there are, among more modern interpreters, Ewald, Lücke, 1st ed., De Wette, Credner, Guericke, Introd. 2nd ed. Anything decisive, either for or against the one or other, cannot, I believe, be maintained. Yet to me the probability of the latter outweighs that of the former. Lücke, 2nd ed., also judges that the composition falls most probably in the first time of Vespasian; as also Lic. E. Böhmer (Ueber den Verfasser und die Abfassungszeit der Johann. Apokalypse, und zur bibl. Typik ; Halle, 1855). I believe it may well be conceived that a writer living in Asia Minor at the time of Vespasian, might regard and describe him as the sixth of the Roman emperors, as the successor of Nero, without reckoning Galba, Otho and Vitellius, the first of whom reigned scarcely seven months, and was generally recognized as emperor even a shorter time, while the two others never got general recognition at all, at least in the East. Suetonius (Vespas.), too, speaks of the reign of these three only as a *rebellio trium principum.* But the most decisive reason for not putting the date under Galba, is the circumstance that the idea of Nero returning as Antichrist appears as one universally known and spread abroad, so that it is at least probable that some time had elapsed since his death. One may say also that, if the composition took place immediately after the disappearance of Nero, he would not be described as fallen (xvii. 10), but as still living; and his successor also would not in any case be counted in the list. But if the writing did not actually take place till Vespasian, and the latter is meant by the sixth Roman king then reigning, it agrees with the fact that the work was composed before the occupation and destruction of Jerusalem

with its Temple. And that Jerusalem still continued at the time of the writing of the second part, is probable from the manner in which (xx. 9), even after the expiration of the thousand years, the abode of the saints, which the troops of Antichrist should attack, is described directly as the beloved city; whilst the New Jerusalem which descends from heaven is not spoken of till later, after the renewal of heaven and earth (xxi. 9 sqq.); so that it is at least very probable the writer had in view, in using that expression, the earthly Jerusalem still standing. Here also, as in ch. xi., the hope is involved that the city would be preserved until the coming of the Lord, and form a local centre of the kingdom of God. See also xiv. 20 (καὶ ἐπατήθη ἡ λῆνὸς ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως). Thus nothing is found in these data contrary to the assumption that both parts were written at the same time, either in the last months of Galba or the first year of Vespasian. We must not leave out of account, in favour of this, (*a*) that the apocalyptic letters (ii. 3) contain several allusions to subjects and things which are treated more at length in the second part, particularly in the description of eternal happiness; cf. ii. 11 with xx. 6, 14, xxi. 8; iii. 12 with xxi. 2, 10, and xix. 12, 16; ii. 7 with xxii. 2, 14, 19; iii. 5 with xx. 12, 15; so that it is probable the author had in his thoughts this copious representation while he composed those letters; and (*b*) that at the end of x. 11 is found the express announcement that the seer should still prophesy with reference to many nations and kings. We cannot doubt that this is meant of prophecies to be communicated in the book itself. And it contains an evident intimation that the author designed to carry out the prophecy still farther, as one would properly expect from the point it had already arrived at. Such intimations would not apply to the contents of ch. xi. (although Ewald refers them to it), but to the prophecies in the second part, particularly ch. xvii. It certainly appears to me undeniable that the prophecy, after ch. xi., is continued in another way than we should have expected from its previous course. But it seems likely that the

seer, after arriving at the decisive point where the description of the last woe and the coming of the Lord were to follow, cast a retrospective glance at the past of the Church in relation to the world, and so began his description over again, continuing it in a different manner from that which was suited to its previous envelope. Accordingly what properly forms the third woe is introduced later, without being expressly designated as such, in the plagues appearing at the trumpets of the seven angels (ch. xv. sqq.), as well as in the descriptions attaching to them.

The view found in Irenæus is undoubtedly opposed to that here adduced concerning the time of the writing of the Apocalypse, viz. that it belongs to the reign of Domitian. But this must certainly be looked upon as false, according to internal evidence; and it may be explained, perhaps, how such an assumption, even without resting on any properly authentic tradition as to the composition itself, could originate pretty early in the Church, by the supposition that the apostle John was the author; see Stud. u. Krit, 1855, pp. 219 sqq. I mention here but briefly the view of Grotius, that the Apocalypse, although the work of one and the same author, is made up of several visions written at different times and in different places, before and after the destruction of Jerusalem; and the similar one of Schleiermacher (Einl. i. N. T.), that a number of single visions are put together in the book which, proceeding perhaps from the same author, were not originally considered as one. Hence he believes that we must entirely give up all explanation of the book.

III. Author.

In the book itself John is repeatedly named as the writer, as he to whom these visions were communicated and who wrote them down in accordance with the command given; so in the beginning, i. 1, 4, 9, and at the end, xxii. 8. Here the question is, firstly, which John is meant, the apostle or some other? and,

secondly, whether, particularly in the former case, the accounts are reliable, or should be viewed only in the light of a literary envelope, so that some other, in the name of the apostle John, wrote and published the work? The latter assumption, as we have seen, is met with pretty early, and in such a form too as that a heretic (especially Cerinthus) mischievously palmed the book upon the apostle. At a later period the same view was also maintained. But the assumption is inadmissible, because, as we have seen, there is the clearest evidence that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, at a time when the apostle John was certainly alive, and doubtless before the composition of his Gospel; in that case, none would have easily ventured to compose such a work in John's name; and, had it been done, the thing would undoubtedly have soon met with contradiction on the part of the apostle himself and his friends; especially as John, according to all accounts of the ancients, lived in his later years in those very districts to which the Apocalypse is addressed, in proconsular Asia, where, or in the vicinity, it was written beyond a doubt. If the Apocalypse had had such origin, it would not have attained to the authority which it had already acquired in the greatest part of the Church at an early period, until persons took offence at the millennarian ideas. Even in the form which Lücke attempted to give this view, in the first edition of his Introduction, it is untenable. He thinks that intuitions lay at the foundation, which the apostle John may have actually had, and which another may have carried out farther agreeably to their oral narration. A similar view was previously held by Schott, who, in his Isagoge, § 116, thinks that the apostle himself had written down single parts in a fragmentary manner (in the Aramaic language), which another made use of subsequently, enlarging and working them out in the present book. From the similarity of the character and language of the whole book, such a redactor must have elaborated the Johannine materials he found with the greatest freedom, so that the whole was entirely his work, and that in the early time specified; since the characteristics leading

to it are so incorporated with the whole book, that they cannot be considered merely as something already existing, which the later redactor might have retained without regard to the relations of his own time. But another would hardly have ventured, at least in the lifetime of the apostle, to bring out a work which asserts its Johannine character from beginning to end; nor could it have found acceptance in that case. Hence the only question is, whether the John who describes himself as the author and to whom the work belongs, is the apostle or some one else.

Here the common opinion is, that the intimations of the book respecting its author are decided in pointing him out as the apostle and evangelist John. The question is, whether this be well founded. The writer indeed names himself John (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8), but nowhere an apostle; only John, servant of Jesus Christ (i. 1). Such designation, indeed, cannot determine against his apostolic dignity, but as little can it speak in favour of it; it appears suitable alike for every teacher and worker in the service of the Lord, even for Christians as such. It has been thought that such passages as verses 2, 9, lead one more definitely to the apostle and evangelist only. But the former is not at all decisive, however it be taken. It is usually referred to a testimony which the seer and writer had given about the Gospel. Even then, however, no reference to the apostle and evangelist John would be contained in it, for it would equally apply to any other disciple of Christ who had been active in the Lord's service. But it is most probable, as we shall see, that the ὅς ἐμαρτύρησε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδε does not refer to an earlier activity of the author as an eye-witness of Christ in spreading the gospel by doctrine or writing, but to the attestation of the contents of the Apocalypse itself that follow. It is undoubtedly more probable in verse 9, where the seer says, *he, John,* was in the isle of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, and received the revelation there. That agrees with an old tradition about the apostle John, which we find in

ecclesiastical writers after the end of the second century, that he was banished to this desert island by the Roman emperor on account of his confession. A closer consideration, however, of the accounts of the ancients themselves, shows clearly that anything decisive and certain about such banishment was not known. Their statements are somewhat ambiguous, particularly with respect to the emperor under and by whom the thing is said to have happened; and therefore it may be assumed with great probability that the whole tradition rests merely upon this passage of the Apocalypse, which might easily lead to the assumption, by the way it is worded, that the seer John was banished to Patmos on account of his Christian confession. It was therefore natural, when once this John was assumed to be the apostle, that the fact should soon fix itself in the form of a tradition about him, although it referred originally to another witness of the same name; that which happened to one John might easily be transferred to another, to an apostle more distinguished and better known. Whether the passage, when viewed by itself, independently of that later tradition, really implies a banishment of the seer to that island, or at least a residence on it at the time of the reception of the visions and the writing of the book, may be seen ad h. l.

What appears in the book itself to speak against an apostle as author, is the passage (xxi. 14), *κ. τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως ἔχον θεμελίους δώδεκα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀρνίου.* This makes it much more probable that the seer and writer did not himself belong to the number of the twelve apostles than that he was one of them. On the other hand, if we consider how so specific a value is put in this passage upon the rank of the apostles, we are justified in supposing that, had the author belonged to their circle or wished to be considered one of it, he would not have omitted, particularly in i. 1, to designate himself expressly as such. A comparison of the other writings which we have received from him also pronounces against the apostle John, particularly the Gospel and first Epistle. We proceed on the supposition that these writings are genuine works of the

apostle John, the son of Zebedee, the "beloved" disciple of the Lord, in which, I believe, we are justified most decidedly (see my Beitr. z. Ev. Krit. u. Vorles. über neutestam. Einl.). And it may be asserted with the greatest probability that the same disciple cannot be the writer of the Apocalypse. It cannot, indeed, be denied that the Apocalypse presents great affinity to the other writings of John, in idea, style and diction; a fact that must not be lost sight of, that we may be able to decide rightly about the similarity of the works to one another. It may be granted that the Apocalypse on the one hand, and John's other writings on the other, are related to no other New Testament works so closely as those two, i.e. to one another; and that the reason of this lies not improbably in a certain dependence of the one writer upon the other, so that the author of the later writing or writings made use of the earlier. But it is not of the kind to prove unity of authorship, any more than the many cognate things presented, for example, by the Epistle to the Hebrews and the first Epistle of Peter to Paul's Epistles prove that the apostle Paul wrote the former. What is still more important in our case than relationship, is the dissimilarity which the writings before us present in their entire character. This is such as cannot be easily explained if we accept the writer's identity. First of all, (*α*) as to style. In the Apocalypse, the whole structure of the language is incomparably rougher, harder, more disconnected, more hebraizing: greater grammatical incorrectness prevails in it than in any other book of the New Testament. On the contrary, the language of the Gospel, though not indeed pure Greek, is yet, without comparison, more correct in a grammatical point of view. Dionysius of Alexandria, l. c. (Euseb. vii. 25), rightly pointed attention to the difference; he says that whilst the Gospel and the (first) Epistle are written faultlessly, as far as the Greek language is concerned, the language of the Apocalypse, on the contrary, is in no wise *ἀκριβῶς ἑλληνίζουσα*; but that the author of it uses barbarous idioms and even solecisms in abundance. To refer to single instances of such grammatical errors, there are,

i. 4, ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος; ii. 20, τὴν γυναῖκά σου Ἰεζαβὴλ, ἡ λέγουσα κ. λ.; iii. 12, τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα, and many others of the kind, such as cannot be shown in other writings of John. Even apart from such incorrectnesses, the Apocalypse presents many peculiarities in the use of language which are not found in the other writings of John; whilst many singular modes of expression in the Gospel and Epistles are wanting in the Revelation. To such things Dionysius of Alexandria has referred (see on this, Ewald, pp. 66—74; De Wette, § 189; Credner, § 266; Lücke, 2nd ed. pp. 662—680). The difference in this respect is recognized even by most of those who attribute all the works to one and the same author, the apostle John; they believe that it arises either from a difference of time in composition, or from the elevated and poetical character of the prophetic discourse in the Apocalypse. Ebrard and Hengstenberg, in particular, look at it in the latter light. Hengstenberg supposes that John wrote the Gospel and Epistles in the condition of his ordinary consciousness; the Revelation, on the contrary, when he was in *the Spirit*, which spoke through him; and this explains why he avoids expressions which had assumed a permanent character in the Christian use of language at his own time, even such as belonged to the characteristic peculiarities of his usual diction, as, for example, ζωὴ αἰώνιος and πιστεύειν, so frequent in the Gospel; besides that the language of the Apocalypse, conformably to the poetical character of prophetic discourse, adopts the full-sounding and emphatic; in which Hengstenberg includes the usual ἰδού, whereas the Gospel, on the contrary, has ἴδε; as also the hebraizing, the rough, the abrupt. He has carried out and extended this in a manner that borders on the absurd, and does not require refutation; nor, indeed, is it capable of one. After the same fashion Ebrard says, in the Gospel John attempted, standing freely above his materials, to write as good Greek as possible for his readers, and therefore he wrote better than was his wont; whilst in the Apocalypse he was overpowered by the remembrance of the visions he had had, and could find no other language to express

such wonders than that of the old prophets. Hence he willingly deals in a prophetic, antique, strongly hebraizing form of language, and makes use of crudities intentionally, as i. 4, ii. 20. However one may judge with respect to the visions of the Apocalypse (see after), the matter cannot be looked at in such a light as that the seer wrote them down in the shape they are now in, and the whole book in the moment of his rapture, but later; and even the ἐγενόμην .. ἐν Πάτμῳ (i. 9) leads with great probability to the supposition that at the time of writing he was no longer in Patmos. The composition took place, therefore—and the same holds good of the visions and other prophecies in the Old Testament prophets—not in the state of rapture, but of thoughtful consciousness. Though it be granted that the remembrance of what was seen in ecstacy, and the subject generally, might exercise some influence on the linguistic character of the book, it could not do so to such degree, particularly in a grammatical respect, as to account for the difference between the Apocalypse and the Gospel. As to the other mode of explanation, by difference in time of writing, it is undoubtedly in the highest degree probable that the Gospel and first Epistle of John were not written till after the destruction of Jerusalem, therefore later than the Apocalypse; and therefore one might suppose that the apostle John in the interval had acquired a greater facility and correctness in Greek writing by long intercourse with the Greeks in Asia. This explanation entirely falls away if, with Ebrard, Hengstenberg and others, we place the composition of the Apocalypse under Domitian, on the basis of Irenæus's testimony. But even on our hypothesis, the apostle John, at the time of writing the Apocalypse, must have been considerably advanced in years, to the age of at least sixty or more; and it is scarcely likely that his whole Greek style should have changed its character so essentially according to time, as it must have done if he, the author of the Gospel and Epistles, was also the author of the Apocalypse. We may add, what Lücke pertinently remarks (2nd ed. pp. 664), that the language of the Apocalypse, in point of fact, has in itself nothing of the

bungling and the accidental, which proceed from a beginner; but something very constant, even, intentional, unfettered and usual; in short, a definite type, which scarcely permits transformation and progress into the linguistic type of the Gospel and Epistles.

(*b*) Dionysius of Alexandria, in the passage already quoted, directs attention to the fact, that the Apocalypse repeatedly names John as the seer and author, whilst the apostle does not name himself expressly either in the Gospel or the first Epistle. On the contrary, it has been urged, as already by Eichhorn, that the express mentioning of the name is conformable to prophetic usage. This, indeed, is not absolutely correct, since it may be admitted with tolerable safety that many prophecies were delivered, even by the Old Testament prophets, without mention of their name, and were therefore attributed at a later time to others than those they belonged to. Such a phenomenon is not without importance in leading us to suppose, along with other phenomena, that the apocalyptic John is different from the apostle, the writer of the Gospel and Epistle or Epistles. But one cannot view it as decisive, since it may be supposed that the apostle, in a treatise written at another and earlier time, followed a different method than his subsequent one in the Gospel and Epistles.

(*c*) Of greater importance, and to be considered decisive, is the difference of the two writings in regard to the ideas contained in them, in relation to the whole spirit and character, the entire picture, of their author and his position, which meet us in reading them. Both the author of the Apocalypse and the evangelist John appear as belonging to the Jewish nation, and as Hebrews, inhabitants also of Palestine, since both are acquainted with the sacred writings of their people, even in the original language, and quote sentences from the Old Testament not usually according to the LXX., but from their own translation of the Hebrew text itself. But the internal position of both towards Judaism and the Jewish people seems very different, as we have already seen (p. 113). The author of the

Apocalypse is closely connected with Judaism, Jewish worship and the Jewish people throughout, so that he seems to cherish the hope that Jerusalem—the holy and beloved city (xi. 2, xx. 9)—though experiencing a divine visitation, would still continue with its sanctuary till the coming of the Lord, and, during the thousand-years' kingdom, would be the central-point of the people and worship of the true, living God. He describes those members of the Jewish people who obstinately rejected or persecuted the gospel as not really Jews, but persons who falsely appropriated the name (ii. 9, iii. 9). On the contrary, the Gospel of John uses the appellation οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι as a designation of the Jews who resisted the truth, particularly the chiefs of the Jewish nation who were hostile to the Redeemer. One might, at all events, suppose that the apostle John should have got, through the destruction of Jerusalem, to the point of hoping that the city would be the centre of the future Messianic kingdom; not that the internal character of his sentiments should have been so revolutionized against the Jewish people, on the occasion of an event which certainly claimed his entire sympathy, as we must suppose it to have been, had the author of the Apocalypse written the Gospel also subsequently, at most ten or twenty years later.

(*d*) Reference to the approach of the glorious coming of the Lord, as conqueror of the hostile powers, and for the inauguration of the kingdom of God upon earth, forms the central and leading point in the contents of the Apocalypse. Though this kingdom itself, the thousand-years' one, is but briefly described, yet all that preceded only serves as a preparation for it, just as what follows appears its farther completion. We find this expectation, it is true, in other New Testament writings, and it is not foreign to the apostle John; doubtless 1 John ii. 18, 28, is to be so explained. But in the Gospel, apart from xxi. 22 in the Appendix, there are no express or definite statements about it, which is always no unimportant fact. Had the apostle John, even forty years after the death and ascension of Christ,

nourished this hope in such energetic liveliness and development as we find it in the Apocalypse, we are justified in assuming that he would have also maintained it at a later time; and that it would even appear through his historical representation of the Lord's life. If we regard him as the writer of the Apocalypse, we might either think that he had conceived these expectations in their present form in consequence of the revelations which the Apocalypse itself brings before us; or that he had cherished them in essence, even before the reception of these visions, in consequence of the way in which he apprehended the discourses of Christ concerning the future development of the kingdom of God, the last judgment, his union with his own people after being taken away from the earth, &c. But in the latter case, we should have expected that he would communicate such discourses of the Lord in his Gospel also, especially if he had held these expectations strongly for forty years, in the way the Apocalypse shows them. Discourses of a similar kind are certainly to be found in the three first Gospels, but not, as already mentioned, in that of John, where the utterances of Christ relating to the future all bear either a more general or a decidedly spiritual character. Had the apostle first arrived at his expectations in the apocalyptic form by the visions imparted to him, according to our book, we should infer that they would not have generalized themselves so much at a later time, and receded into the background. The destruction of Jerusalem, that took place meanwhile, might perhaps have helped to modify somewhat the state of these hopes; not, however, to such a degree as would have been the case were the author of the Apocalypse and of the Gospel the same, for we find eschatological ideas in the same form essentially as that which they have in the Apocalypse.

(*c*) It is true that 1 John ii. 18 sqq., iv. 1 sqq., speaks of Antichrist as the forerunner of the last day (the ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα). But this is only regarded here, as we remarked already, as an idea spread through Christendom, to which the apostle gives a more

general application than that which already prevailed, especially as found in the Apocalypse. The apostle expressly exhorts his readers not to look for a single individual coming as Antichrist, because many Antichrists had already gone out into the world, every one who denies that Jesus is the Christ being regarded as such. Rather does a gentle polemic appear there against such an idea of Antichrist as we find in the Apocalypse, and also in 2 Thess., viz. as a definite future person, in whom should be concentrated, as it were, the sum of all evil and destruction. This also is no unimportant ground against the idea that the Apocalypse might have been written by the apostle John, the author of the Epistles, since it is improbable that the latter would have given up and generalized, as is done in the letters, the very idea of Antichrist definitely set forth in the Apocalypse in so decided a way; especially as we find it firmly held by other parties in the Church long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and after the expiration of the apostolic age in general, and that too in the apocalyptic form and shape.

(*f*) Many other individual differences, both in the eschatological department and in others not immediately connected with it, between the Apocalypse on the one hand, and the writings of John on the other, may be pointed out, leading more or less to the assumption of different writers; compare Lücke, 2nd ed. § 48, 49. Of still greater importance in favour of this conclusion is the fact that the Apocalypse betrays an entirely different culture on the part of the author from the Gospel and the Epistles. The writer exhibits far more learning than the evangelist, not merely a relatively different, but another kind of education, both in theological and other departments, so that he appears to be a man who had been occupied with other branches of science from an early period and in a wholly different manner from the evangelist; one who is inclined to a certain artificiality of representation and to rabbinic-cabalistical studies. It is not probable, according to Acts iv. 13, where it is related, the Sanhedrists had heard that Peter and John were ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ

ἰδιῶται, that the apostle John should possess the very education and learning which the Apocalypse manifests; whose counterpart is not found in the other writings of John. Hengstenberg, indeed, will not admit this; he asserts that the learned and artificial character which the Apocalypse is said to have is partly not in it; that it is partly and in a like degree in the other writings of John also, so that he takes into them many profound references in a highly arbitrary way. See a fundamental refutation of his views in Lücke, 2nd ed. § 48.

If, after all this, we consider ourselves justified in supposing that the Apocalypse cannot be a work of the author of the Gospel and Epistles, therefore not of the apostle John, and if, on the other hand, from what has been before advanced, the same work is not spuriously attributed to the apostle, in whose name it might have been written by a later person, it only remains for us to assume, with Dionysius of Alexandria and others, that it is the work of a different John. We have seen that Hitzig asserts John Mark to be the author, the same who wrote the second Gospel. But the grounds urged for this are not reliable, and the supposition is in itself improbable, as has been sufficiently proved by Ebrard, and especially by Lücke, l. c.; so that I do not think it necessary to enter here into a farther discussion of the matter. Nor has this view met with approval and assent in any quarter, except from Weisse. It is not likely that this evangelist, who is constantly named Marcus at a later period, should have described himself as John in the Apocalypse addressed to the Asia Minor churches, since he was doubtless known to them as Mark. Ecclesiastical tradition also knows nothing of the fact that Mark had his sphere of activity in Asia Minor in later years, viz. in proconsular Asia. For we must assume of the John of the Apocalypse, that he resided in Asia Minor at the time of the composition of the book, and was thought highly of as a teacher by the Asiatic churches to which the seven Epistles are addressed, and for which the book was chiefly written; so that they were led to

think precisely of him and none else from the manner in which he characterizes himself and speaks to them.

The existence in these regions of such a John, different from the apostle, is known to us from unsuspected witnesses. Papias, in his ἐξηγήσεις λογίων κυριακῶν (Ap. Euseb. iii. 39), speaks expressly of a second John, besides the apostle, whom he designates *the presbyter*, ὁ πρεσβύτερος, in distinction from the apostle, and speaks besides of a certain Aristion; so that he undoubtedly separates both from the apostles, while describing them as those who had heard the Lord (μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου). Guericke, indeed, has tried to prove, in his treatise, Hypothese vom Presbyter Johannes (1831), that Papias does not speak of two different Johns, but only of one, the apostle; he has repeated the same thing also, with less confidence, in the first edition of his Einl. i. N. T. p. 262, Anm. 4; and Hengstenberg has expressed the same opinion, ii. 2, pp. 112 sqq. 2nd ed. ii. 387. But Guericke himself, in the 2nd ed. pp. 147 sqq., confesses that there is more in favour of the existence of the presbyter than against it. An unprejudiced consideration of the words of Papias leaves no doubt that he really speaks of a second John, the presbyter, different from the apostle; and, indeed, he names him without any reference to the author of the Apocalypse, whereby the testimony in regard to his actual existence is all the more unsuspicious. Hence from the very mention, we may suppose with great probability that this presbyter John, and Aristion named with him, had lived and worked in the district where Papias resided, that is, in Asia Minor. Hierapolis, where Papias was bishop, lay near (only six Roman miles north) to Laodicea, one of the seven churches addressed in the Apocalypse. Eusebius, in the place already mentioned, is inclined to attribute the Apocalypse to this presbyter John; but not, as is usually and falsely assumed, Dionysius of Alexandria, who does not mention him directly. Eusebius also remarks that some said two persons of the name of John had lived in Asia, Christian teachers, viz. of the apostolic age, and two monuments were then shown at

Ephesus, both dedicated to a John—a fact which Dionysius of Alexandria also cites. If it were the case that the other John lived and taught as a presbyter in the district where the apostle was working in his later years, we may well conceive that the two Johns were early confounded with one another; that this or that thing was transferred from the presbyter to the apostle so well known in the Church, and thus a literary work which belonged to the one might be attributed to the other; which was undoubtedly the case with the Apocalypse about the middle of the second century, as we see from Justin Martyr. Yet the assumption of a presbyter John being the author of our book would not be without difficulty had the apostle John lived beside him in those regions at the time of its writing; for in that case the presbyter would not readily have designated himself, as here, simply as John, servant of Jesus Christ, without definite separation from the apostle of that name. But there is nothing to prevent us from assuming, rather is it not unlikely on other grounds, that the settlement of the apostle John in these parts did not take place till after the writing of the Apocalypse (see my Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik, pp. 194 sqq.). In that case the presbyter John might very well call himself simply ὁ Ἰωάννης, addressing the churches standing in close connection with him, in whose midst or the immediate neighbourhood he lived; as he would know that they could not remain a moment doubtful as to his person. If, therefore, the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel are related to one another in the manner indicated in these remarks, as far as the persons of their authors are concerned, as well as the time and place of writing; it must be considered very improbable, *a priori*, that the Apocalypse should have been unknown to the apostle John when he wrote the Gospel. And since, with all the essential difference of standpoint between the two writings—a fact which does not permit us to attribute them to one and the same author—there is nevertheless, as already before intimated, a certain analogy and relationship between them in individual descriptions and phrases,

the foundation of this cannot be in imitation of the Gospel by the writer of the Apocalypse, as many have supposed; but it must rather be referred to the evangelist's use of the Apocalypse. That such a thing has taken place, and exercised some influence individually on the descriptions, we may well suppose, although the assumption is not exactly necessary.

IV. On the Literary Envelope of the Book, especially the Mode of Description in Visions.

The Apocalypse immediately at the beginning, from i. 9 onwards, consists in the relation of visions presented to the seer; and even the contents of the apocalyptic Epistles to the seven churches (ch. ii. iii.) were dictated to him by the Lord who appeared in vision. Here one may ask, how we are to consider this: merely as a literary envelope, a form chosen by the writer with poetical license to present in a vivid and lively manner to his Christian readers the sum of his prophetic hopes; or as a historical account of visions actually vouchsafed to him in the manner and succession here adduced? The same question may also be put in reference to the visions of the Old Testament prophets, as they are brought forward in their writings. As respects individual ones, it cannot be decided with any certainty; it is not unlikely in general that with the later prophets it is in part only a literary envelope, a form of composition which they made use of to imitate the descriptions of older prophets, a more vivid way of adducing what they wished to prophesy; whilst in general, especially in the older prophets when narrating the visions they beheld, there is no ground for doubting that they were actually communicated to them, that the prophetic intuitions were presented to them in visions, mostly with a symbolic character (see Einl. ins. A. T. pp. 422 sqq.). We know from authentic New Testament witnesses belonging to the Church of the apostolic age, that visions were communicated to the apostles Peter and Paul in particular when put into

an ecstatic condition, in which symbolical images were brought before their spiritual eye for the revelation of religious truth (see Acts x. 10 sqq., xvi. 9; 2 Cor. xii. 1 sqq.). The same may have been the case with them and other Christian teachers of the time, more frequently than we find expressly stated. Hence we need not hesitate to assume that such visions were communicated to the writer of the Apocalypse also, though he did not belong exactly to the number of the apostles. Yet we must take into consideration the following particulars. In the first place, we cannot think that the writer wrote down the entire book and all the visions just as they are now in it, during the ecstacy itself; this cannot be assumed even of the visions in the prophetic writings of the Old Testament. Still less can it be said of a series of connected visions so comprehensive as those in the Apocalypse. Besides, the introductory historical narrative, ch. i. clearly shows that the whole must have been written down afterwards in its present form; and, as is highly probable from verse 9, written when the seer was no longer in the isle of Patmos. We may therefore assume, at all events, that the writer did not note down the visions previously communicated to him till afterwards, and as they presented themselves to his memory. But we cannot well imagine, from the number and extent of the visions and images, that the writer could have reproduced them all most exactly, or all that was spoken to him in ecstacy, verbatim; we may rather take it as certain that, in the later reproduction of the materials, the writer's own reflection involuntarily exercised some influence on the form and combination of particulars, without our being able to discover the extent of such influence. But we may go perhaps still farther. It is difficult to imagine how such a number of images and visions should have passed before the seer, after one another immediately, as would appear from the description of the book. In many of these individual images, it is not probable, from their nature and from the mode in which they are carried out, that they could have presented themselves in vision as actual phe-

nomena. In that case, instead of appearing sublime and beneficent, they would be rather monstrous and repulsive; for example, the image of the Son of Man, i. 13 sqq. &c. Besides, not to mention the fact that most of the images attach themselves more or less closely to Old Testament descriptions, especially to those of Daniel and Ezekiel whence they are borrowed, we see the artistic and artificial in the connecting of the visions, and in the putting together of the whole book. From a consideration of all these particulars, it is very probable that we must either look upon the whole representation in visions merely as a free literary envelope, such as is often found in Jewish and Christian writers of that and later times; occurring, for example, in the book of Enoch, in the fourth book of Ezra, in the Apocryphon of Isaiah, &c.; or we must suppose, if visions were actually communicated to the author with symbolic images referring to the future and ulterior development of the kingdom of God, that he carried them out afterwards with poetic freedom in individual parts, and their connection with one another. In either case, it is understood that the writer is not constant in the mode of representation by visions, but uses the future tense for prophecy several times; soon returning, however, to another mode, where the future presents itself as present to his eye. So ch. xi., xx. 7 sqq.

V. Canonicity of the Apocalypse.

We have seen how the canonical authority of the Apocalypse was assailed or doubted at different times, as early as the second century, and in the Greek Church for a longer period (in the Syrian Church permanently); then at the Reformation, and again later; suspicions and attacks of this kind having always gone hand in hand with doubts and views about its origin, design and chief meaning (see New Testament Introduction, pp. 671 sqq., and my Essays on the Old Testament Apocrypha in the Theolog. Stud. u. Krit. 1853, ii. pp. 283—298, upon the conception of the New

Testament Canon, as well as the requirements of a writing in order to vindicate its canonicity, and the gradational differences which must be admitted in this particular subject). Accordingly, we cannot reckon the Apocalypse among canonical books of the first class, if the results of our previous inquiry be correct, but only (with many Greek Church writers and the older Lutheran theologians) among the second class, both as to its origin and contents. In regard to the former; among the writings of the first times of the Christian Church, besides those which merely relate the history of Christ with the origin and early fortunes of the Church; among such as are of a didactic kind, the writers themselves appearing in them as teachers; we can attribute full canonical authority only to those which were confessedly written by apostles, and to others merely a subordinate authority as deutero-canonical writings. To this series the Apocalypse belongs in regard to its author, if, according to our view, it is the genuine work of a man who belonged, indeed, to the number of the Lord's disciples, as he had heard the Lord himself according to the assertion of Papias, but was not one of the apostles. As to the book itself and its contents, we have not to consider its æsthetic value in order to its right estimation; nor the artificiality in plan and details, with the great poetic beauties by which it is distinguished, but only the religious-moral, the dogmatic-ethical contents. Here we perceive that a strong Christian thought may be recognized in the Apocalypse, especially a believing, living confidence in the power of the Spirit of the Lord, and in the certain final victory of his kingdom over the world and all hostile powers; so that it is not inferior in this respect to the apostolic writings. But the prophetic character of the book itself, a constant reference to the future of the Church and the world, to the fulfilment of the kingdom of God and the conflicts and catastrophes preceding it, lead to this result—that the Apocalypse cannot have for us a normative and proper canonical authority, in the sense and degree which most other books of the New Testament have, the historical as well as

the doctrinal, for the reason already before specified; because all prophetic matter, and that of the New Testament also, bears more or less a poetic dress, and therefore it is difficult to separate with any certainty the properly dogmatic before its fulfilment, from the poetic and symbolic investiture. That is the case with the Apocalypse, and in a special degree. We are accustomed in general to distinguish the *apocalyptic* from the simply *prophetic*, according to a late usus loquendi that proceeded from our book itself, although the difference is only a very fluctuating one, not firm or determinate. The apocalyptic is always prophetic, but all prophetic is not apocalyptic. In general, the apocalyptic presents the future more in concrete vivid images, individually, and so pronounces upon future developments something more and more definite than the power for doing so properly by a true divine inspiration warrants. This is the general character of apocryphal-apocalyptic literature as a whole, and of that also in the Bible Canon which may be designated as apocalyptic; so in the Old Testament, especially the book of Daniel, and undoubtedly Ezekiel xl.—xlviii.; in the New Testament, our present book. The Apocalypse, as we have seen, has tried to give a closer determination of time to the future coming of the Lord and the glorious appearance of his kingdom upon earth. Any inquiry into such matters does not correspond with the mind of the Lord, who, even after his resurrection, declares that to know the time and the hour has been reserved by the Father to himself alone; and disclaims the knowledge of it even for himself and the angels of heaven (Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32; Acts i. 7). The designation of time given in our book has not been verified, as we have seen, by the result; so, too, other special announcements connected with it. Hence we are not justified by analogy in expecting that they will be fulfilled in the future in the manner here announced. These grounds, affecting the contents and apocalyptic character of the book, induce us not to place the Apocalypse in the series of New Testament writings of the first

rank—these have in themselves full canonical normative authority; but to include it in writings of the second rank, possessing a more limited and subordinate authority, as a supplementary treatise of the New Testament Canon, which has not in itself sufficient value to make one draw Christian doctrines from it, except so far as it appears to agree with and rest upon canonical books of the first rank. In no case, however, are we justified in putting it so low as is done by Luther, or in excluding it from the collection of New Testament books. Rather does it form right well a conclusion of the whole.

IV.

SPECIAL INTERPRETATION.

Ch. i. 1, 2.

A GENERAL announcement of the contents of the book.

Revelation of Jesus Christ. The genitive after ἀποκάλυψις mostly stands in the New Testament (even in this combination with Χριστοῦ, for example, 1 Cor. i. 7 ; 2 Thess. i. 7 ; 1 Peter i. 7—13) as a genitive of the object of what comes forth, is being revealed ; but it cannot be so understood here (although Lücke assumes it, 2nd ed. pp. 23, 365, as the unveiling of Christ in his majesty, as his glorious appearing); but is either a designation of the possessor and Lord, the revelation belonging to him, as it were ; or the subject, the author ; in the latter way, also, we are probably to understand Gal. i. 12, δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ. Here the revelation of Christ is farther signified as one *which God gave unto him,* handed over to him, as it were, *in order to show his servants what should shortly happen.* It is incorrect when Heinrichs considers the relative ἣν dependent on the infinitive δεῖξαι ; it is undoubtedly dependent immediately on ἔδωκεν, and the following infinite δεῖξαι on the whole preceding sentence, signifying intention ; Christ is here, even in his present exalted condition, described as the first *Mediator* who received, as it were, the revelation originally proceeding from the Father, to communicate it to the seer, and through him to other believers. Compare on διδόναι in a similar relation,

John vii. 7, 8; Acts vii. 38. Upon δεικνύναι, applied to the disclosure or revelation of the future in visions, see also iv. 2, xxii. 6. In δεῖ lies more than μέλλει; it denotes the certainty of the phenomenon which rests on the assumption that it is founded in the counsel of God. On ἐν τάχει, see the introductory remarks, and compare xxii. 6, 7, &c. It is false and opposed to the sense of the book when Ebrard understands by ἐν τάχει that what is here meant in time (whether sooner or later) should quickly elapse. In τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ, it is doubtful whether the pronoun refers to God or Christ; xxii. 6, ὁ θεὸς ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, decides for the former. It is false when Hengstenberg, as well as Vitringa and others, understand the δούλους αἰτοῦ only of the prophets; it is a more general idea referring to believers in general.

καὶ ἐσήμανεν κ. λ. There can be no doubt that the subject here again is not God, but in progressive description, *Christ*. We may take the connection with the preceding in a two-fold manner, either to include the hemistich in the relative sentence and to make the ἣν also the object of ἐσήμανεν, or, as is frequent in Hebrew, to assume a transition from the relative to the direct statement, and to take from the preceding context what ἃ δεῖ γενὲσθαι ἐν τάχει suggests as object. So also Hengstenberg, Ewald (Jahrb. d. bibl. Ws. viii. 1856, p. 106, Anm.). The verb σημαίνειν stands as an indication of the future, not in a very clear or evident manner, but in figurative speech, John xii. 33, xviii. 32, xxi. 19; cf. Acts xi. 28; here by symbolical images. With ἐσήμανεν is to be connected τῷ δούλῳ κ. λ.; but the participle ἀποστείλας should be taken, together with διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ according to the Hebrew usage בְּיַד שָׁלַח; to send by the hand of a messenger = to send a messenger; compare Matt. xi. 4, Lachm.; therefore, *and who has* = and what the same, *sending by means of his angel* = by sending his angel, *signified it to his servant John*. Züllig unites the διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου with ἐσήμανεν; but in this case the ἀποστείλας would be too bald and also superfluous. The angel here is he who, particularly in

the last part, from ch. xvii. onwards, shows to John the chief objects in the revelation (see De Wette on our passage).

Verse 2. *Who bare record to the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, what he has seen.* The received text has ὅσα τε, but the τε is decidedly spurious and is wanting in A. B. C. over forty cursives, Compl. Syr. Aeth. Vulg. Griesbach, Tischendorf, Lachm., &c. It is wrongly defended by Ewald (see upon it his Jahrb. d. bibl. W. viii. 1856, pp. 107 sqq.). From external testimony, there can be no doubt of its spuriousness. Then the ὅσα εἶδε forms an apposition to τὸν λόγον τ. θ. κ. τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰ. Χρ. But the interpretation and reference are doubtful. Most interpreters take it as referring to a testimony which John had given in favour of the Gospel at an earlier period. So also Ewald (Jahrb. der bibl. Wissenschaften, 1848-1849, p. 62) says, he had been a former eye-witness of Christ and also of the gospel, announcing it from Christ himself; ὅσα εἶδε would then restrict and limit as it were ἐμαρτύρησε; an eye-witness, but not an apostle. On the contrary, he refers it, in the Jahrb. d. bibl. W. viii. 1856, p. 107, to the fact that John testifies to the Gospel in *this* work. So also Lücke (2nd ed. Einl. pp. 239 sqq., 241 Anm.); Ebrard (Krit. d. Evang. Gesch. pp. 1034 sqq. 1046 Commentar., cf. Stud. u. Krit. 55, p. 181). The expressions λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ and μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ are applied to the Gospel with reference to the testimony which confessors of the Lord gave to it (xx. 4, 6, 9). But even if this idea were the correct one here, a more definite designation of the apostle John would not be contained in it, neither with regard to the Gospel written by him (as Ebrard l. c.) nor also a martyrdom suffered for the gospel's sake; it would only be the designation of a disciple of the Lord who spread the evangelical doctrine and history by his attesting announcement of them; which would apply to the presbyter John, if the latter (according to Papias) had likewise seen and heard the Lord. If we consider the connection more narrowly, it is much more probable that the ἐμαρτύρησεν κ. λ. refers only to the testimony which John the seer gives in the book itself of the divine revelations commu-

nicated and of the visions presented to him. λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is used, as λόγος is often in the LXX., for the Hebrew דְּבַר יְיָ, i.e. a divine revelation, the prophetic words of revelation; and in μαρτυρία Ἰ. Χρ. the genitive is that of subject, standing for the testimony which Jesus makes known to John in this revelation; comp. xxii. 20, where Jesus in the same connection is described as ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα; xxii. 16, i. 5, where he is called ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς. The ὅσα εἶδε refers to the phenomena which presented themselves to John in vision; and this is much better, especially after a comparison of i. 19 (γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες), than to refer it to the actions and events of the life of Jesus as witnessed by the author, where one would rather expect ἑώρακε or ἑωράκει, as in 1 John i. 2, 3. It is very unnatural when Vitringa and Ewald apply this member (with the reading τε) to the prophetic intuitions; and on the contrary, the λόγον τ. θ. κ. μαρτ. Ἰ. Χρ. to the testimony already given in the Gospel. Even with the reading τε the two-fold designation would be quite inadmissible; much more with the reading without τε. In the interpretation here followed, we have manifestly an appropriate connection of ideas as well as progression. Verse 1 describes him that is the first principle of the revelation—God the Father—him that is the first mediator, Christ, whom the former made use of as his instrument—the angel—and the person to whom he communicated it through the latter, i.e. John. Verse 2 then states that John made known to the other servants of God the revelation he received, through the testimony given in this book; and verse 3 suitably concludes with the blessedness of those readers to whom the revelation comes through John. Arethas, Andreas, Beza, Bengel, rightly understand it in this manner; and so also Lücke (Theolog. Stud. u. Krit. 1836, 3. 655 sqq.), Züllig, De Wette, Hofmann (ii. 303). The aorist ἐμαρτύρησε, for which Wolf and Ebrard suppose the present must have been put in that case, Bengel rightly explains by the epistolary style; compare, for example, Philemon 19 (ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί).

Verse 3.

Verse 3. *Blessed is he who reads, and those who hear the words of the prophecy, and keep what is written in the same,* keep it in their hearts, have it continually in view. The latter participle, τηροῦντες, applies to both at the same time, the ἀναγινώσκων and the ἀκούοντες. These expressions refer to the fact that such holy books were wont to be read in the synagogues as well as in Christian assemblies, which was done by *one,* whilst the others listened. Therefore the one in the singular, the others in the plural.

For the time is near, the time of fulfilment, namely, of the glorious appearing of the Lord. Compare Luke xxi. 8, Mark xiii. 23, and the remarks in the Introduction.

Verses 4—8.

After this general designation of the contents, there follows a special greeting of the apostolic churches of Asia, for which the work is chiefly intended, with reference to the certainty of the splendid and terrible future of the Lord.

Verse 4. *John to the seven churches of Asia.* Ἀσία stands here, and in the New Testament generally, not as a designation of a division of the world (Lücke, 420 sqq., Stud. 55, pp. 168 sqq.), but of the west part of Asia Minor (Asia propria or proconsularis), which the Romans obtained as a province by the testament of the King of Pergamus, Attalus III. Philometor in the year 133 B.C. It properly comprehended Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia and Caria; yet the word appears in the New Testament to have sometimes a more restricted sense. The seven churches are named in verse 11; and in ch. ii. iii. special epistles of exhortation are addressed to them. As it is said here at once, "to the seven churches of Asia," we may perhaps suppose that these were the only ones at that time in the province which had any importance. Yet we may assume, on the other hand, judging from the part which the sacred number seven generally plays in our book, that the writer attempted with a certain design to trace back the

Christian churches precisely to this number; so that it may have been from a desire not to exceed this number, he did not include a church of the district which he would otherwise have noticed; not reckoning, for example, Colossæ, Hierapolis; or a city where perhaps but a small number of Christians existed. The ancients themselves viewed the number seven only as a symbolical or mystical designation of the collective congregations of the Christian Church. So the Fragment of Muratori: Et Johannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit. Andreas ad h. l.: *διὰ τοῦ ἑβδοματικοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὸ μυστικὸν ἁπανταχῆ ἐκκλησιῶν σημαίνων.* And Arethas: *τὸ τῶν ἁπανταχῆ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐσήμανε πλῆθος.* So also Ebrard, who views the seven churches as a type of the collective Church in its various forms. Doubtless the revelations of this book, from ch. iv. onward, have no special reference directly to the seven Asiatic churches; nor can we see that these floated in particular before the mind of the seer when the revelations were written; but that was the case in writing ch. ii. iii., which evidently refer specially to the relations and wants of these very churches. From these circumstances we may infer that the author stood in close connection with the churches of this region at the time he wrote; that he had already lived for a long time in the midst of or near them, and had held a position of some importance among them. *Grace and peace be unto you from him who is, and who was, and who is to come* = from him who is, was, and will be. This is a paraphrase for Jehovah, the Eternal and Unchangeable, who was from eternity and will be to all eternity. The name Jehovah in Hebrew should probably be pronounced יַהְוֶה, as a third person of the future or imperfect of הָיָה, denoting the true God as the existing one; comp. Exod. iii. 14. It has been understood later as if those three tenses of the verb *to be* were contained and expressed in the name, הָוָה. הֹוֶה, יִהְיֶה. So Moses Maimonides, in More Nevochim, fol. xliii. 2: Know that the name Jehovah teaches, עַל שֶׁהוּא הָיָה וְהוֶה וְיִהְיֶה, that he was, is and will be. Jehovah is often paraphrased accordingly; for example,

Tharg. Pseudo-Jonath. ad. Deut. xxxii. 39 (Hebr.: Behold now that I, I am he, and no God besides me): Ego ille qui est et qui fuit et qui erit. For other passages see Eisenmenger, i. p. 215. Here also this designation of God has the same reference. It includes ὁ ἐρχόμενος = ἐσόμενος, corresponding to the Hebrew הַבָּא as a designation of the future in contrast to the present, the already existing; compare 1 Thess. i. 10, ὀργὴ ἐρχόμένη = μέλλουσα. Hengstenberg (on this passage, and formerly, Authent. des Pentat. i. pp. 236 sqq.) will not admit of this interpretation, but refers the ἐρχόμενος definitely to the coming of God to judgment, and to the establishment of his kingdom. This would only be probable if it were meant as a designation of Christ, who is often described as ὁ ἐρχόμενος, cf. verse 7, &c.; not, as is the case here, of God himself, the Father. ὁ ἦν is also to be taken participally, and ἦν is only put because there is no form of εἰμὶ for the partic. preterite. The whole is treated as an indeclinable noun. The received text has before ὁ ὤν, τοῦ (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν κ. λ.), which is wanting in A. C. 15 cursive, also ed. Compl.; and is omitted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf; instead of it, θεοῦ, B. 23 cursive, Victorin, Primasius, which is probably a gloss.

And from the seven spirits before his throne. This is a description of the divine holy Spirit, according to a conception which, denied wrongly by De Wette, Hengstenberg and Ebrard, rests upon the passage, Is. xi. 2, to which Victorin already refers. It is said there, on the future stem of the race of Jesse (the Messiah) shall rest the spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of strength, the spirit of the knowledge and fear of Jehovah. This gave occasion to the later Jews, although the passage in itself does not justify it, to distinguish in the one divine Spirit seven chief qualities or centres of action, and to personify them as seven individual spirits, for which the denomination Sephiroth (סְפִירוֹת) occurs later. That they are described as before the divine throne, refers perhaps to the symbolic representation

in iv. 5, according to which they are symbolized by seven lamps which burn before the throne of God. In like manner, in Zech. iv. 10, seven arms of the golden candlestick denote the seven eyes of Jehovah, attributed to him as a designation of his all-pervading providence; comp. ib. iii. 9. Others understand by the seven spirits the seven angel-princes or archangels of the later Jewish theology, surrounding the divine throne. But the passages, iii. 1, v. 6, would not apply to that, since it is said in the former that Christ has the seven spirits of God; while in the latter the seven spirits are symbolized by the seven eyes of the Lamb, which are sent into all the world. One could at most suppose that the idea of these seven angel-princes passed over into that of the divine Spirit, according to his modes of working and powers; in such way, however, that the latter element is always the prevailing one. Even this, however, is not necessary or probable.

Verse 5. *And from Jesus Christ the true witness.* The nominative stands here grammatically inaccurate, as an apposition for the genitive; so afterwards the dative τῷ ἀγαπῶντι κ. λ., which perhaps was occasioned by the fact, viz. that αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα, which follows immediately, floated before the mind of the writer, although the construction there is again interrupted. The designation of Christ as a μάρτυς alludes perhaps to Is. lv. 4 (עֵד) and Ps. lxxxix. 38 (καὶ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός, of the rainbow); but refers here less to the testimony he had given while alive upon earth, and sealed with his death, than to that which he presents in this book concerning the future; comp. xxii. 20, ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα; see above on verse 2, μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χρ.

The first-born of the dead. The ἐκ of the received text before τῶν νεκρῶν, is wanting in A. B. C. 40 cursive, as well as Copt. Vulg.; left out by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. Doubtless it is a later insertion from Col. i. 18, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Christ is often designated in several relations in the New Testament as the *First-born* (see my Commentary on Heb. i. 5, p. 127). The description is borrowed per-

haps from Ps. lxxxix. 28, but was applied in various ways; here and Col. l. c. he is called the first-born of the dead, or from the dead, as he arose the first from the dead, born as it were to a new life, in such a manner that he is no more subject to death; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 20, Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

And the ruler of the kings of the earth; comp. Ps. lxxxix. l. c., עֶלְיוֹן לְמַלְכֵי אֶרֶץ.

Who loves us and has washed us from our sins in his blood. Instead of ἀγαπήσαντι, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have ἀγαπῶντι, according to A. B. C. 38 cursive. Undoubtedly the aorist would be quite suitable, *who loved us*, namely, has shown his love to us in giving himself up for us, and has purified us with his blood; yet the proponderance of Greek manuscripts leads to the present, which was changed to the aorist out of regard to the following participle being in the same tense. Instead of λούσαντι, Lachmann has λύσαντι (which Mill approves) after A.C. 5 cursive, Syr. Primas, &c. Yet the other is decidedly more probable from internal evidence; comp. vii. 14, where believers are described as those who have made their garments white in the blood of the Lamb (1 John i. 7; Heb. ix. 14; compare also Acts xxii. 16).

Verse 6. *And has made us kings, priests to his God and Father;* βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς, so we should read with the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. (instead of the received βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς), and according to A.C. 40 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol., Aeth. Copt. Areth. Lactant., Victorin, &c.; the received reading came from it as an emendation. The question is, how to explain it. The expression, Exod. xix. 6, lies at the foundation, where Jehovah says to the Israelites, Ye shall be to me מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים, a kingdom of priests, a kingdom in which all are individual priests. Accordingly many interpreters have understood it as Wetstein does, instead of βασιλείαν ἱερέων. Yet this is scarcely permissible, since it would be a too ungrecian mode of expres-

sion, which has no parallel even in the Apocalypse, namely, that the noun standing in the genitive-relation after a noun governing should experience no change in the form of the ending, according to the Hebrew mode. Rather must we suppose that the writer, according to another conception of that passage in Exod., took כֹּהֲנִים as an apposition to מַמְלֶכֶת, and so had the two-fold idea that the people of God were made by the Saviour priests, as well as a kingdom whose citizens should reign with their Lord; comp. v. 10, ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς . . . βασιλεῖς κ. ἱερεῖς, for which, with Lachmann, read βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς. But Lachmann has besides, instead of ἡμᾶς, ed. minor, adopted ἡμῖν, according to A. 4 cursive (according to Wetstein the Syr. Copt. also). The ed. maj. has ἡμῶν according to C. and the probably genuine text of the Vulgate; yet here the received text is probably the genuine one.—*To him be the majesty and power to all eternity, Amen!* Such doxologies in reference to Christ in the New Testament are found several times; for example, Rom. xvi. 27; 2 Tim. iv. 18; 1 Pet. iv. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 18; and in reference to God and Christ at the same time, Apoc. v. 13.

Verse 7. Here the leading tendency of the whole Apocalypse is expressed: *Behold, he comes with the clouds,* as if attended by them; in the same manner the glorious appearance of the Son of Man at his coming is described in Dan. vii. 13, וַאֲרוּ עִם־עֲנָנֵי שְׁמַיָּא כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ אָתֵה הֲוָא. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 30, καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. The verb ἔρχεσθαι is frequently used in the Apocalypse, as well as in the other writings of the New Testament, in relation to the future glorious appearing of Christ (see my Commentary on Heb. x. 37, p. 713).

And every eye shall see him, in his wonder-exciting glory; *also those who pierced him,* or have pierced. An allusion to Zech. xii. 10, where, in depicting the deep repentance which would one day penetrate the royal house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, it is said, וְהִבִּיטוּ אֵלַי אֵת־אֲשֶׁר דָּקָרוּ, literally, "And

they look (repentant and full of anguish) upon me (or upon him) whom they have pierced." Accordingly the evangelist John quotes the passage, John xix. 37, where he speaks of the piercing the side of the crucified Lord, and with the same Greek verb as here (ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν), whilst the LXX. Zech. render quite differently by κατωρχήσαντο. This agreement has been prominently urged by Hengstenberg on the place, and by others, as a proof of the Apocalypse having been written by the author of the Gospel. Yet two writers, entirely independent of one another, might easily translate the verb דָּקַר by the Greek ἐκκεντεῖν, which Aqu. Symm. Theod., and in other passages the LXX. too, have also put for it. Nor is there complete agreement here, since the verb h. l. is connected with the simple accusative; in the Gospel of John with εἰς. Besides, the writer undoubtedly thought of all who had shown themselves hostile to the Redeemer during his life, and had helped to deliver him over to death.

And shall lament, beat their breasts, in anguish and mourning (κόψονται; see Matt. l. l.), *over him* appearing in such majesty; *all races of the earth*, the people who proved disobedient to him hitherto; *yea, Amen!*

Verse 8. *I am the A and the O, says God the Lord, who is, who was, and who is to come, the Almighty.* What the received text has after τὸ ὦ, viz. ἀρχὴ κ. τέλος, is to be considered a gloss, which Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have left out, as already the Compl., &c., according to testimonies which preponderate. By Alpha and Omega, God is designated as the First and the Last, that is, as the Eternal One, who was from the beginning and will be to eternity = Is. xliv. 6, אֲנִי רִאשׁוֹן וַאֲנִי אַחֲרוֹן; comp. xli. 4. Among the later Jews, the whole extent of a thing is often expressed by the first and last letters of the alphabet, א and ת; for example, Abraham observed the law from א to ת, or God blesses the Israelites from א to ת, &c. (see Schöttgen, ad h. l.) Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., as already the Compl., Bengel, instead of the received ὁ κύριος,

which would be understood of Christ, have κύριος ὁ θεὸς, according to A. B. C. upwards of 40 cursive, Syr. Copt. Arm. Vulg.; Hippol. Andr. Areth. al. The reference to Christ would not in itself be unsuitable, from the way in which he is spoken of elsewhere in our book (see verse 17, xxii. 13). Ewald holds to the received text, but external evidences preponderate in favour of the other reading.

Verses 9—20.

Narrative of John respecting the vision communicated to him, in which he is directed to write down and send to the seven churches of Asia the prophetic intuitions introduced by what follows.

Verse 9. *I, John, your brother and companion in affliction and in the kingdom,* a citizen of the kingdom of God, and, as such also affected by the calamities inflicted upon the confessors of the Lord upon earth. This passage confirms the fact that in verse 6, the βασιλείαν is to be taken as a peculiar conception.

And patience of Jesus Christ, that is, the patient constant waiting for the Lord, namely, his future coming and the fulfilment of his kingdom; so 2 Thess. iii. 5, May the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God and εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Comp. 1 Thess. i. 3, τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. Apoc. iii. 10, ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου. In our passage, however, this is not the reading. Instead of Ἰησοῦ Χρ., others read with a preposition ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, or ἐν Ἰησοῦ, or ἐν Χριστῷ. That means, patience, steadfast endurance in Jesus, or which has its foundation in him.

Was on the island which is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. The second διὰ is probably not genuine. It is wanting in A.C. 8 cursive. Copt. Arm. Vulg; Dion. Al. Andr. 1. Areth. Primas., left out by Erasmus (ed. 1—3), Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. We have already spoken of this passage in the Introduction, and remarked that it is referred almost universally to the seer's banishment to Patmos, in which case

there is a proof of the identity of this John and the apostle and evangelist, inasmuch as ecclesiastical tradition mentions his banishment to Patmos by the Roman emperor. The thing established itself in later tradition; and many legends attached themselves to it on the island in question. The latter is one of the Sporades in the Ægean Sea, situated between Samos and Naxos, now called Palmosa or Patmo; according to Pliny, thirty thousand paces or thirty Roman miles in circumference. It is usually thought to be waste and unfruitful. It is undoubtedly a rocky island, without woods; but now, at least, it has gardens and vines, fruit-trees and corn, especially wheat and barley; its wine is very fiery and pleasant to the taste. It has a large harbour and two inhabited districts; the lower small harbour town, La Scala, and the town proper on the heights, built round the convent of Saint Christodulos; the number of inhabitants consists at the present time of 4000—5000, far preponderating in women, since the men are mostly abroad and in foreign ships. Sideways from the road leading to the upper town is a grotto enclosed in a little church, which is supposed to be the place where the apostle John resided, and beside it a school; many legends are still related on the island of miracles which the apostle is said to have performed in different places (see Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, 1836-37, Bd. iii. pp. 425—443). Meanwhile it is very probable, as already remarked, that the entire hypothesis of the banishment of the apostle John arose out of this passage of the Apocalypse, and rests upon no tradition independent of it. All that the oldest Church writers give concerning it is very indefinite, or decidedly false so far as it is not borrowed from this passage. As to the time of banishment, the oldest ecclesiastical writers who express an opinion upon it place it in the reign of Domitian; Irenæus is among these, Adv. Haeres. v. 20, 7 sqq. (Euseb. iii. 18), although he does not speak very decidedly of the banishment of the apostle, but of the time of his receiving the revelation; Victorin, Eusebius iii. 18, and in his Chronic.; Hieronym. vir. illustr. v., and others. Probably also Clem. Al. Quis. dives salvetur, xlii.,

and Origen, in Matth. Tom. xvi., thought of Domitian. They mention, indeed, no name, but speak of a certain tyrant and Roman king, under whom John was banished to Patmos, and after whose death he returned thence to Ephesus. Tertullian, also, as is not improbable if one compares Apologet. v. (that Domitian tried to imitate Nero's tyranny, but soon discontinued it and recalled those who were banished) with Præscript. adv. Haeret. xxxvi., says that the apostle John, after he—and that at Rome—was dipped in boiling oil without being hurt, was banished in insulam. But it may be asserted in the most positive manner, from the contents of the Apocalypse, as we have seen, that it could not have been written under Domitian, but either under Galba, or at the latest under Vespasian; therefore, if it were the work of the apostle John, and the passage referred to his banishment, it is impossible that it could have happened under Domitian. If the banishment of the apostle were really a fact which had reached the Church Fathers independently of the Apocalypse, by actual tradition, one would expect that clearer particulars about it would have come to them in some credible form; particularly the true state of the case with regard to the Roman emperor under whom it should be placed. That the apostle John was not actually banished by Domitian, may be inferred from the silence of the oldest Church historian, Hegesippus, who lived at Rome under Marcus Aurelius, about 170. He expressly relates that Domitian sent for some of the grandsons of Judas, the brother of the Lord, but directly after set them at liberty again, and by his own edict abolished all persecutions against the Christians. If anything of a banishment that happened to the apostle John had been known to Hegesippus, he would certainly not have omitted to relate it on this occasion. And Eusebius, where he speaks of this banishment, would have referred to Hegesippus for it; a writer whom he often quotes for the older Church history. But if nothing was known to the older Church concerning this banishment in a historical way, farther than what was believed to be contained in the passage, it may be easily explained

how the thing could come to be put in the time of Domitian, viz. because this emperor actually punished individual Jews and Christians with banishment, though probably merely out of Rome, which may be inferred from Tertullian, Apol., and Euseb. iii. 10; Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14, lxviii. 1. A later assumption we find in Epiphanius (Haer. li. ch. 33), that both the banishment and recal of John happened under Claudius (A.D. 41—53); which, however, can be as little historical as the other. But if the entire hypothesis of the apostle's banishment does not rest in all probability upon a tradition independent of the Apocalypse, having taken shape merely in accordance with this passage, we are then by no means dependent upon the tradition for its interpretation. The question is, in the first place, whether the passage, viewed by itself, leads us actually to a banishment, if not of the apostle, yet of the John who wrote the Apocalypse. The words undoubtedly allow of such reference; comp. xx. 4, *τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*; vi. 9, *τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἣν εἶχον*. Hence it cannot well be doubted that the author might have expressed himself in the manner here followed had he been banished to Patmos by a worldly power on account of the gospel and for the testimony he bore to it; or even if he had been induced to withdraw, perhaps from Ephesus, to this island, because of persecuting measures taken against the gospel, which, under the circumstances pre-supposed in the Apocalypse, might easily have been the case. But it is not necessary to refer the *διὰ* to cause; it may also indicate object, and then it may be taken in a two-fold way; either, as Hartwig (Apologie, &c., Thl. ii. p. 55) and Koppe, that he resorted to this island to make known the gospel, or to receive there the divine revelation forming the contents of the book. I have taken the words in this sense (Theol. Zeitschrift, &c., pp. 250 sqq.), and so, at the present time, Lücke, Stud. u. Krit. l. c. (1836, 3) Einl. 2nd ed. § 56, pp. 659 sqq., De Wette. The *λόγος τ. θεοῦ κ. μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ* is then taken in the same way

as in verse 2. It would be possible perhaps, looking at the thing in such light, if the description in visions be viewed merely as a literary envelope, that this announcement of place might be considered like that of the day, viz. the author might have named the island on account of its not too great distance from his usual place of residence, as well as its loneliness and romantic nature. Meanwhile there is nothing against the supposition that John, the writer of the book, had resided for a shorter or longer time on this island, which perhaps was not then uninhabited, and had prophetic intuitions as to the future of the Church of Christ in its relation to the world, which he developed in a literary form as they are presented in our book. Thus much appears pretty clear in the passage itself, from the ἐγενόμην, that he was not on Patmos at the time of his writing the book. Ewald rightly agrees in this, which is denied by Hengstenberg and by Lücke (2nd ed. p. 814), but, as I believe, wrongly; see Stud. u. Krit. 1855, p. 213.

Verse 10. *I was in the spirit on the Lord's-day;* ἐν πνεύματι εἶναι denotes prophetic inspiration, such as the prophetic intuitions conveyed to him. The κυριακὴ ἡμέρα is, without doubt, Sunday, so called because the Lord arose on this day of the week; whence it appears to have been distinguished from an early period by Christians, and to have been held especially sacred. Traces of this may be found even in the New Testament (1 Cor. xvi. 2; Acts xx. 7; comp. Ep. Barnab. xv.). Under the appellation ἡμέρα κυριακὴ, dies dominicus, the day appears also in the Constitut. Apost. vii. 31, l. v. fin.; Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. 2nd ed.; Dionys. Cor. apud. Eusebium, iv. 23; Quæstion. et respons. ad Orthod.; Tertullian, &c. Others, as Eichhorn, understand in particular Easter Sunday, because it appears to have been an old opinion, according to Hieron. Comment. in Matt. xxiv., that Christ would return on the vigils of the Passover, on Easter eve; wherefore they remained together at these vigils till after midnight. But neither is Easter Sunday anywhere called ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα by the Church writers, nor are there any traces in the New Testa-

ment of that day having been distinguished so early from other Sundays. Wetstein, Züllig, &c., explain it falsely: I was in the spirit, transported as it were in the day of the Lord = was prophetically carried into the time of the last things (the day of the future of the Lord).

And I heard behind me a loud voice, as of a trumpet, which said; compare Ezekiel iii. 12, And I heard behind me a loud rushing voice (קוֹל רַעַשׁ גָּדוֹל). Instead of λεγούσης (referring to σάλπιγγος), λέγουσαν would be suitable for the meaning here in reference to φωνήν.

Verse 11. What follows next in the received text, *I am the A and the O, the First and the Last,* including the καὶ, is decidedly spurious, according to external evidence, and is left out by Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf; so also in the following, ταῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ (after ἐκκλησίαις). On the contrary, Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf, have adopted ἑπτά before ἐκκλησίαις, as also the Compl., Bengel; also after preponderating testimonies. *What thou seest,* wilt behold; for it applies, without doubt, to the collective visions that follow: *Write in a book, and send it to the seven churches, to Ephesus.*

Verse 12. *And I turned to see the voice which spoke to me,* instead of, to look about whence the voice came.

And when I turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks. By these are symbolized, according to verse 20, the seven churches as representatives of the Christian Church in its individual parts. The golden candlestick in the sanctuary which bore seven lamps on its six arms, including the middle shaft, lies at the foundation of the image; compare Zech. iv. 2.

Verse 13. *And in the midst of the (seven) candlesticks, one like to a Son of Man,* is the designation of a higher being appearing in human form; compare the description of Jehovah manifesting himself, Ezek. i. 26 (דְּמוּת כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם), and of the angel, Dan. x. 16. Here the Messiah is meant, alluding to Dan. vii. 13, where it is said of the Messiah, that he appeared כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ. Readers would think of him all the more readily under this designation,

as the formula, *Son of Man*, had become usual as an appellation of Messiah, in consequence of the passage in Daniel.

Clothed with a robe, a long garment reaching to the feet; of the kind, for example, that the priests were accustomed to wear, from ποῦς and ἄρειν nectere; the LXX. translate by it מְעִיל, also בַּדִּים; for example, Ezek. x. 6, ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδήρη.

And girt about the breast with a golden girdle; for this xv. 6 has, περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς. An imitation of Dan. x. 5, מָתְנָיו חֲגֻרִים בְּכֶתֶם אוּפָז.

Verse 14. *But his head and his hair were white as white wool, as snow;* compare vii. 9, where it is said of the Ancient of Days (God), his garment had become white as snow, and the hair of his head as pure wool. There it denotes the ancient and venerable; here, partly the venerable, partly the pure.

And his eyes as flames of fire; compare Dan. x. 6, עֵינָיו כְּלַפִּידֵי אֵשׁ.

Verse 15. *And his feet like fine brass;* χαλκολίβανον also in ii. 18. The word does not appear elsewhere. For various interpretations of it, see Bochart, Hierozoicon, ii. pp. 870—888. Most probably it should be considered a *vox hybrida*, formed perhaps by the writer himself; composed of the Greek χαλκὸς and the Hebrew לְבָן, white = white shining brass. Less probably Ebrard, and others (as Syr. Aeth.), brass from Lebanon. Again Daniel x. 6 probably lies at the foundation, where, after the words just quoted, that his eyes were as flames of fire, it is said, And his arms and his feet כְּעֵין נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל = as the look of smooth (polished, shining) brass. That the author had this designation in view is the more likely, because the loud rushing sound of the voice is prominently adduced there also, in what immediately follows. In addition to Dan. l. l., perhaps Ezekiel also (i. 4, 27, viii. 2) floated before the mind of the writer, where חַשְׁמַל is put in a similar connection, a quadriliteral that may be viewed as compounded of נְחֹשֶׁת, brass, and מְלַל Chald., to rub, polish, therefore = shining brass, corresponding exactly to our χαλκολίβανον, according to this interpretation; the latter a literal translation of it. It is much less

probable when Ewald understands by it a kind of incense (after Salmas. Exerc. ad Solin, p. 813) of fiery colour and sun-like brightness. The comparison to incense is less natural.

As if made red-hot in the furnace, made glowing, shining and glancing. Instead of πεπυρωμένοι, Lachmann has . . μένης according to A. C., which is, perhaps, an accidental mistake only.

And his voice like to the voice, the rushing, *of great waters;* comp. Dan. x. 6; especially Ezek. xliii. 2 (of the majesty of God), וְקוֹלוֹ כְּקוֹל מַיִם רַבִּים; also ib. i. 24, of the rustling of the wings of the cherubim.

Verse 16. *And he had seven stars in his hand* (according to verse 20, the angels of the seven churches are symbolized). But how we are to think of the seven stars in the hand of the Son of Man, whether as rings on the fingers, or joined as in a crown (so in Züllig's picture), or in what other way, does not appear.

And out of his mouth proceeded a two-edged sharp sword, symbol of the powerful and penetrating influence of his speech. Perhaps the Messianic passage in Isaiah xi. 4, lies at the foundation: He strikes the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he slays the godless (comp. 2 Thess. ii. 8).

And his face (ὄψις, like our countenance, facies, especially the upper part of it, where the eyes are; in the same manner, John xi. 44; Jer. iii. 3, for מֵצַח) *was as the sun shining in its strength,* as radiant as the sun when it shines in full strength; comp., in the Song of Deborah, Jud. v. 31, Those who love Jehovah shall be like the going forth of the sun in its strength (כְּצֵאת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בִּגְבוּרָתוֹ, LXX. ἐν δυνάμει αὐτοῦ).

Verse 17. *And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead, and he laid his right hand upon me and said, Fear not.* Compare the similar description in Dan. viii. 18, x. 9, 10; Ezek. i. 28—ii. 1. In the following, some interpreters take ἐγώ εἰμι by itself: *I am;* comp. John vi. 20; Matt. xiv. 27. Yet it is more probable that it should be taken strictly with what follows: *I am the First and the Last;* so in reference to Christ also, xxii. 13; the former

refers to his pre-existence before all creatures, as the Logos; comp. Col. i. 15, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

Verse 18. *And he who is alive* (falsely Grotius = ζωοποιῶν); *and I was dead* = who was dead; *and behold I am (now) living to all eternity, and I have the keys of death and the under-world* = I possess the power to unlock the gates of death and the under-world, and to free those confined there, to lead them out of it to life, as well as to leave them in death. The gates of Hades, of Scheol, are mentioned, Is. xxxviii. 10; and the same as gates of death, Ps. ix. 14, cvii. 18; Job xxxviii. 17. Of the key of death, or of the resurrection of the dead, it is said, moreover (tr. Sanhedr. fol. 113, 1, and elsewhere among the later Jews), that it, together with the key of birth (clavis partus seu sterilium) and the key of rain, to which is added in other places, as fourth, the clavis orbationis seu alimentorum, that it is in the hands of God alone, who trusts it to no angel. Divine power and dignity, therefore, are here claimed for the Messiah.

Verse 19. *Write now what thou hast seen and what is, and what shall happen after this.* ἃ εἶδες can only refer to the phenomena which had just presented themselves to the view of the seer; and ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι to the disclosures of our book relative to the future. But the meaning of ἅ εἰσι is doubtful. Züllig explains it, What thou hast hitherto (since the beginning of thy vision) seen and heard, and what thou *now* seest and hearest (ἅ εἰσι), and what thou shalt still farther see and hear in the course of these visions;—very unlikely. Grotius, Hammond, Bengel, Hengstenberg, Lücke (2nd ed. p. 401), Ebrard, refer ἅ εἰσιν to the present condition of the Church, as it is introduced in the Epistles immediately following, which is confirmed by the manner in which the ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα appears to correspond with the ἅ εἰσι. More probably, with other interpreters (for example, Herder, Eichhorn, Ewald, De Wette, &c.), it should be taken in close connection with what precedes, and thus: what thou hast seen and what it is = what is represented by it, viz. what it signifies; referring chiefly to the explanation imme-

diately given in verse 20 of the seven stars and seven candlesticks. On the contrary, the ἃ μέλλει κ. λ. in any case alludes to the disclosures of the future, which follow later. This latter, according to the meaning of the whole, should be regarded *here* as only incidental and parenthetical, as it were: what it is, together with that which will happen hereafter, viz. in the following

Verse 20. The accusatives τὸ μυστήριον . . καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας should be taken most probably in close grammatical connection with the preceding, as also dependent on γράψον, being an apposition to ἃ εἶδες κ. ἃ εἰσι. Less naturally, others put a point after μετὰ ταῦτα, and take those words as standing in the accusat. absol. = as to, &c. The position of the accusative could not be easily explained in that case. *The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand* = the mysterious stars and what they signify; comp. xvii. 7, I will tell thee τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικός κ. λ.

And the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks are seven churches. As the seven churches are at the same time representatives of the entire Christian Church, the latter is symbolized in its individual parts by the candlesticks, and very suitably too; for it exists, in fact, as a clear shining light in the world. But the meaning of the ἄγγελοι of the church is doubtful. Most interpreters understand the human directors or ministers of the churches. For such explanation of the appellation, reference is made, as by Grotius, to the fact that in Mal. ii. 7 the priests, and Hag. i. 13 the prophet himself, are designated as messengers (מַלְאָכִים) of Jehovah; comp. Eccles. v. 5. Yet it is not probable that bishops should be described here as the messengers of the church. Others, as Vitringa, Schöttgen, Eichhorn, Ewald, &c., explain it by the fact that among the later Jews שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר legatus ecclesiæ appears as appellation of a functionary of the synagogue, and is then transferred to the presidents of the Christian churches. Yet that appellation does not denote the

director of the synagogue, but one of the subordinate servants belonging to it; so that Ewald does not here understand *bishops* of the churches, but deacons, and is of opinion that the epistles are addressed to them because their business was to receive epistles and to read them in public. That is a very unlikely assumption, so much the more since the churches had several such deacons; whereas the following epistles are always addressed directly to the ἄγγελος of the church. Subsequently Ewald modified his interpretation (Jahrb. der Bibl. W. II. 1849, pp. 123 sqq.) so far, that ἄγγελος was not then the usual appellation of an individual president, but a designation of the presidentship as such, of the mediating higher power, of the typical and most active life of the church, of the representation and collective capacity of the church, therefore of the church itself. Yet this interpretation has too abstract a character for it to be probable in a Biblical writer (see Stud. u. Krit. 1855, p. 170). Ebrard understands messengers, deputies, whom the individual churches, not really however, but only in vision, had sent to the imprisoned apostle. This also is very improbable. It is more likely that ἄγγελος stands here in the signification of *angel*, which is usual in the Bible; and that the guardian angels of the individual churches are meant, as Wetstein, Bretschneider, Wahl, Züllig, De Wette and others take it; and Origen, Jerome, Greg. Nazianzen, Andreas, Arethas, Salmasius De episcop. et presbyt. pp. 182 sqq.; Gabler, De episcop. primæ eccles. &c., p. 14; Lücke, 2nd. ed. pp. 431 sqq., &c. These are to be viewed only as representatives of the churches themselves, since the contents of the epistles refer to the condition of the individual churches. The epistles themselves now follow

Ch. ii. iii.

As epistles of Christ to them or to their angels, dictated to the seer. In each individual letter Christ is described by different predicates, those in the four first being borrowed from the preceding description of his appearance, i. 13—18.

The letters to the seven churches have in view the moral condition of each at that time, and set out with that in their respective commendations, exhortations and threatenings. They are conditions which have repeated themselves abundantly and in different forms in the Church, as well as in Christian congregations, of a later time. So far these circular epistles have something typical of other churches and other times. But it is very unnatural to view the typical and prophetic character of the letters as a thing of which the writer was conscious and had in view; as many earlier interpreters did, and Ebrard still does. Ebrard, as already remarked, refers the four first to the different conditions of the Church in regular succession of time from the apostolic to the middle ages. This is an extremely unnatural, insecure and false mode of interpretation.

1. Ch. ii. 1—7. Epistle to Ephesus.

This was one of the most famous cities of antiquity, on the Icarian Gulf, the capital of Ionia, as well as the chief city of proconsular Asia, renowned in particular for its Temple of Diana, which, after having been burnt by Herostratus, was rebuilt more splendidly. As happened in almost all the important commercial cities of that time, so also in Ephesus, a considerable number of Jews had settled there (Joseph. Ant. xiv. 10, 11, sqq. Act.). The Christian church at Ephesus owes its origin to Paul and his companions. The apostle, as far as we know, came there for the first time on his second missionary journey, on the way back from Corinth to Jerusalem. He resorted to the synagogue, and conversed with the Jews, but could only stay for a short time; however, he left behind his companions Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 19 sqq.). These were certainly very efficient on behalf of the gospel; and by them, Apollos was entirely won to the Lord. Afterwards Paul himself came to Ephesus for a longer time. He discoursed at first for three months in the Jewish synagogue with signal success; then, as he met with opposition while separating the fol-

lowers of the Lord into a particular church, he remained in the school of one Tyrannus for at least two years; on which occasion he converted both Jews and Greeks of the city and the entire region (Acts xix.). Subsequently, when he had been in Macedonia and Greece and was going again to Jerusalem, on the journey thither he sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus to come to him to Miletus, to bid them farewell and give them admonitions. On this occasion he pointed out to them the dangers which threatened the Church from persecutors as well as from false teachers out of their midst (Acts xx. 17—38). Whether Paul came to Ephesus and the district afterwards is connected with the decision of the disputed point as to his deliverance from the first Roman imprisonment, as well as the origin and date of the pastoral letters. Yet we see from 2 Tim., which is doubtless genuine, that Timothy was present at that time in this district, and that the Church was endangered by individual false teachers. Subsequently, according to ecclesiastical tradition, the apostle John established his seat and spent his last days here. But if our view be correct about the origin and writer of the Apocalypse, it is, as already remarked, possible that he was not there at the time of the writing of this book; since there is no indication in this Epistle that the city was then the abode of an apostle. Afterwards Ephesus was the seat of a Christian Metropolitan, and is known in Church history for the third Œcumenical Synod (431), as well as for the so-called Robber Synod (449) held there. The Emperor Justinian caused a splendid church of St. John to be built there. The city was entirely destroyed by the Ottomans, who came about 1307, and later by Timur (1402). There is now in the vicinity a small village, Ajasoluk, inhabited by Turkomans, and also many ruins of the old city (comp. Schubert's Reise ins Morgenland, I. pp. 284—313).

Verse 1. *To the angel of the church in Ephesus write.* Instead of Ἐφεσίνης, the right reading is, doubtless, with Griesbach and others, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, according to A.C. and 40 cursive, Vulg. Andr.

Areth. Lachmann has also (approved by Bengel and Griesbach) τῷ instead of τῆς, according to A.C. cursive (τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας), and in verses 8, 18; it would be harsh grammatically, which speaks for its originality. Yet in the remaining letters he has retained τῆς, since τῷ has in its favour no external witnesses of importance.

Thus speaks he who holds the seven stars in his right hand (i. 16), *who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks* (i. 13).

Verse 2. *I know thy works;* chiefly, perhaps, sacrifices for the gospel; *and thy labour,* κόπος; not merely toil, hardships, but also exertion in the work itself; *and thy patience;* perseverance in striving for, as well as in the hope of rest in, God's kingdom.

And that thou canst not bear them which are evil: that these become, as it were, too irksome to thee, so that thou shakest them off, repellest them from thee.

And thou hast tried, carefully proved, *them which say they are apostles and are not* (anacoluthon), *and hast found them liars;* hast therefore rightly perceived what condition they are in, and hast not been blinded by their pretences. Who these were cannot be determined with certainty: not, as Züllig thinks, such Jewish teachers as did not at all belong to the Christian Church; nor also John's disciples, as Eichhorn supposes. Ewald thinks they were the strictly judaizing teachers whom Paul had so often to encounter elsewhere. But it is more probable that the writer thought of the heads of those whom he (verse 6) designates as Nicolaitanes; to whom Hengstenberg also refers it. Besides, as we shall see, we must also think of antinomian teachers, a tendency which proceeded from abuse of the Pauline doctrine of the Christian's freedom from the law, to which might be joined a predilection for subtle speculations of different kinds. Against these persons Paul already warns Timothy (2 Tim. ii. 16 sqq.). When it is said here besides, they pretend to be apostles, it does not imply that they really belonged to the circle of those who heard the Lord himself, or merely asserted it.

Verse 3. *And hast patience, and hast laboured for my name's*

sake: in confessing me, thou hast suffered, to wit, all oppressions and persecutions which were inflicted upon thee for this reason; *and hast not fainted;* without being weary. This forms an intentional play of words along with verse 2, where both βαστάζειν and κόπος stand in another relation; ἐβάστασας here corresponds to οὐ δύνῃ βαστάζειν κακοὺς, as οὐκ ἐκοπίασας corresponds to τὸν κόπον σου, or better, as Lachmann has it, οὐ κεκοπίακας (according to A. C., &c.). The received text has κεκοπίακας καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας, which would mean, hast laboured and art not become weary. Yet predominant external testimony favours that shorter reading, which is also recommended by internal grounds, because it is in itself probable even by the play of words, with regard to the βαστάζειν, that κοπιάζειν is here used in another reference than in verse 2.*

Verse 4. *Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, that thou hast left thy first love;* hast abandoned, let it go; the first love = such a one as thou hast cherished and shown in the earlier time, when thou didst first devote thyself to my service. This love, according to the context, cannot mean love to Christ (as, for example, Züllig takes it) or to God (comp. Jeremiah ii. 2), but only love to the brethren, as proved chiefly by assistance and charity to the needy, which Paul recommends to the Ephesian elders (Acts xx. 35). The τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποίησον in verse 5 also leads to this sense. Compare Matt. xxiv. 12, καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν. It is decidedly incorrect when Eichhorn finds in it a reproach against the Ephesian Christians, that they treated the heretics too severely, and no longer with previous mildness.

Verse 5. *Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen;* that is, what was the high standpoint which thou didst occupy before in love to the brethren, and hast now lost, from which thou hast sunk down. For the formula πόθεν πέπτωκας (approved of by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and by Bengel and Wetstein,

* οὐ κέκμηκας was brought in by Erasmus; compare Delitzsch, Handschriftl. Funde i. p. 24.

instead of the received ἐκπέπτωκας; according to preponderating external evidence). Comp. Cicero, ad Attic. iv. 16, non recordor unde ceciderim, sed unde resurrexerim.

And repent and do the first works = such as thou didst to the brethren in the first time of love, *or if not*—μετανοήσης is easily supplied here, but at the end ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς is again added somewhat pleonastically—*I will come unto thee* = to punish thee, *quickly* (ταχὺ left out by Lachmann, Tischendorf, according to A. C. Copt. Aeth. Vulg.; the omission is also approved of by Mill and Bengel).

And will remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent; the candlestick is the symbol of the church, according to i. 20; hence the removing of the candlestick denotes that the candlestick henceforth will no longer be seen in this place; the removing of the church itself so that it will no longer be recognized as belonging to the Lord; its place in the kingdom of God will be given to others. Compare, for the meaning, Matt. xxi. 43, ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ κ. δοθήσεται ἔθνει ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς. Upon the formula, κινεῖν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου, comp. Apoc. vi. 14, κ. πᾶν ὄρος κ. νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν.

Verse 6. *But this thou hast,* the praiseworthy, the good, *that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate;* comp. verse 15 (Pergamos), οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Νικολαϊτῶν ὁμοίως. This, as I believe, although others, as De Wette, deny it, is clearly the same idea that is expressed in verse 14, ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ. This Balaam is the sorcerer Balaam, whom the Moabite king sent for to curse the Israelites during their stay in his territory, but who was compelled by the Spirit, instead of a curse, to repeat blessings upon them. Of him it is said (Numb. xxxi. 16), in a speech of Moses, that he instigated the Moabite women to tempt the Israelites to desert their God; referring to ib. ch. xxv., according to which the Israelites took part in the sacrificial feasts and idolatry of the Moabites, and committed whoredom with their daughters. So also in our book, in verse 14, below, Balaam is reproached for having induced the Moabite

king to tempt the Israelites to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit whoredom. Accordingly we have, ib., in the κρατοῦντες τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ, to think of men in the Christian Church who had an antinomian tendency, in contrast with the Judaizers. Misunderstanding the Pauline doctrine of a Christian's freedom from the law, they did not think it inadmissible to take part even in idolatrous feasts, and to expose their body to sensual lusts; as this was something external, and they did not think themselves bound to the points of the law (Acts xv. 29, xxi. 25) imposed on the heathen Christians by the apostles. That there were such in several Christian churches, we see from the Epistles of Paul, especially 1 Cor.; also from the Epistle of Jude. Accordingly there can be no doubt in my mind, from verse 15 in relation to verse 14, that the Nicolaitanes here mentioned are the same who are designated as κρατοῦντες τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαὰμ. The origin of the name Nicolaitanes is more doubtful. Church writers, from Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria downward, derive it from a head of the sect, Nicolas, thinking of him who is mentioned, in Acts vi. 5, as one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, but who became involved in dangerous errors afterwards; from whom, at least, a heretical party is said to have been named. Irenæus, as well as Clement of Alexandria, thought that the party continued even in their time, so that it may be assumed with great probability that there really existed a party having the antinomian tendency here indicated, which bore the name of Nicolaitanes, whether it was that they gave themselves the name or that others called them so. According to Clement of Alexandria, they held the fundamental principle that one must show his contempt for the flesh by destroying it through his own instrumentality, by delivering himself up to fleshly lusts; comp. Neander, Kgesch. Bd. I. (Abth. ii.) pp. 744 sqq. It is not improbable that there may been a connection between those Nicolaitanes in the time of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, and the persons mentioned here; on the contrary, their connection with the deacon Nicolas is in a high degree problematical.

What Vitringa and Wetstein assume is very probable; and most interpreters, also Hengstenberg and Ebrard (but not Hofmann, ii. 323, and De Wette) assent, that the name is formed as a Greek translation of Balaamites; it being supposed that בִּלְעָם is composed of בָּלַע to destroy, to abolish (in Syriac and Arabic also = vincere), and עָם people, like Νικόλαος of νικᾶν and λαός; as if, conqueror of the people, destroyer of the people. Yet it is not probable that the writer of the Apocalypse was the first to make this appellation. From the way the Nicolaitanes are here spoken of at first (verse 6), he appears to pre-suppose the name as one already known to his readers. So also Ewald, Jahrb. viii. 1856, pp. 117 sqq. It may therefore be assumed that the appellation of Nicolaitanes, to designate those who resembled Balaam, was already current for the anti-Jewish and antinomian party in these circles. The transference would be of course still more easily explained if a Nicholas stood at the head of the party in that district, which is possible enough in itself, but not at all certain nor necessary.

Verse 7. *He that hath an ear, let him hear;* comp. xiii. 9 (similarly Christ, ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουσάτω, Matt. xi. 15), *What the Spirit saith unto the churches;* the spirit of prophecy, through which the Lord who speaks here, communicates with the seer, and through him, to the churches. *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of (my) God.* ὁ νικῶν is he who steadfastly perseveres in all struggles for the kingdom of God and the pure, simple gospel; who does not allow himself to be drawn away by hostile powers or heretics. The formula, ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, is borrowed from Gen. iii. 22, עֵץ הַחַיִּים, which the LXX. translate in the same manner. It is a designation of the tree in Paradise, whose fruit imparts the possession of eternal life, so that the eating of it is put for the possession of eternal life; comp. the description of eternal blessedness, xxii. 2; similarly ib. verses 14, 19. So also among the later Jews; for example, Jalkut Rubeni, xix. 2; Quando Deus judicat judicium veritatis,

tunc animam deducit in paradisum eique gustandum præbet arborem vitæ; see Schöttgen, ad h. l. At the foundation of the expression the idea lies that Paradise, in which man was placed at creation, still exists, with the tree of life; man is now excluded from it only on account of the fall, and will again have access to it in the kingdom of Christ.

2. Verses 8—11. Epistle to Smyrna.

This city was one of the most distinguished and beautiful of the commercial towns of antiquity, and is so still, situated in Ionia, on the Ægean Sea, about eight miles north of Ephesus. It became very rich by commerce, but the sensual morals of Smyrna were proverbial. It is not known by whom the Christian church was founded in the city. The epistle shows that the followers of the Lord belonged especially to the poorer class; and that they had much to suffer from the unbelieving Jews. Precisely on that account the gospel had maintained itself among them purer than in other churches. Subsequently, Polycarp was bishop there, a disciple of the apostle John, whom Irenæus had seen in his youth, and who, when an old man, suffered death as a martyr; burnt, circ. 167, chiefly, as appears, at the instigation of the Jews. In Eusebius, there is an Epistle to the church of Smyrna respecting him (Eusebius, iv. 15). Among the Epistles of Ignatius, there is also one to the church at Smyrna, as well as one to Polycarp. The town now numbers about 120,000 inhabitants, and doubtless, besides Turks, many (over 10,000) Jews and Christians (probably about 30,000) of all confessions, mostly Greeks.

Verse 8. *These things saith the first and the last, which was dead and is alive.* That is, ἔζησεν = who has again returned to life. Upon this designation of Christ, see i. 17, 18, from which it is borrowed. Christ is described in this aspect with regard to verse 10, where he promises to give the crown of life to him who serves faithfully unto death.

Verse 9. *I know thy works,* τὰ ἔργα σου, as verses 2, 5. Ben-

gel, Lachmann and Tischendorf, however, have omitted the words τὰ ἔργα καὶ, according to A. C. 2 cursive, Copt. Aeth. Vulg. Primas. Andr. in comm. Mill also approves of the omission.

And thy tribulation, in reference to persecutions, *and thy poverty*, neediness in earthly things (*but thou art rich* in the true abiding treasures which are reserved in heaven; comp. Matt. vi. 20; 2 Cor. vi. 10, ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες, καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες, ib. viii. 2); *and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan.* Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and others, have accepted the ἐκ after βλασθημίαν, from testimony which preponderates. The blaspheming persecutors of the Christians are also designated (iii. 9) in the same manner as here. They were unbelieving Jews, very hostile to the gospel. The writer himself belonged to the Jewish nation and was attached to it (see Introduction); those who opposed the kingdom of God he views as persons who unjustly assumed the honourable name of Jews, since they proved that they did not at all belong to the people of God, the covenant people, for whom the promises given to the fathers were to be fulfilled in Christ. Far from being a congregation of Jehovah, of the Lord, συναγωγὴ τοῦ κυρίου, עֲדַת יְהוָה or קְהַל, as Moses calls the Israelitish people (Numb. xxxi. 16), and as the rebellious Israelites called themselves (ib. xvi. 3, xx. 4), they were much more a congregation of Satan the enemy of God and his kingdom. Compare John viii. 44, ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ.

Verse 10. Instead of μηδὲν, Lachmann and others have approved of μὴ, according to A. B. C. 2 cursive. In the received text, μηδὲν would be accus. of the object, and ἃ μέλλεις πάσχειν an apposition to it; *fear none of these things which thou shalt suffer*, which sufferings will be inflicted upon thee because of thy belief and confession. *Behold the devil*, the enemy of God, and his people, *will* by his servants, particularly those false Jews, *cast into prison some of you that ye may be tried;* comp., for example, Matt. xxiii. 34, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε κ. λ. Such is the divine

intention in inflicting these miseries upon you, that you may have an opportunity of becoming upright and keeping your belief. Hence πειρασμοὶ is frequently used in the Bible in reference to outward afflictions.

And ye shall have tribulation ten days, can only be meant here in an indefinite sense, for a round number, meaning a short time; comp. Gen. xxiv. 55; Numb. xi. 19; Dan. i. 14.

Be thou faithful unto death, so that thou shunnest not death itself, art even ready to suffer death; comp. Philip. ii. 8, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.

And I will give thee a crown of life, Genit. expl. Eternal life as a crown of victory, a reward of battle; comp. especially James i. 12, μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν· ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς, ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο (ὁ κύριος) τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. Here ζωὴ is put opposite θάνατος. Precisely out of death itself, suffered for the sake of the Lord, wilt thou have life. But it is hardly right when Züllig interprets, "I shall give thee kingly dignity in the life of Olam Habba," understanding this of *a special,* the highest dignity in it, to which martyrs particularly laid claim.

Verse 11. *He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.* The second death will not harm him. The idea lying at the foundation is explained by its further development in ch. xx. xxi. The faithful followers of the Lord, who have fallen asleep in him, will be raised at his appearing, in order to reign with him in the thousand-years' kingdom (xx. 4). These shall then live for ever, and shall also remain unharmed at the general judgment; whilst the wicked, raised at the general resurrection, will be thrown into the lake of fire, into which death and Hades were previously thrown, and which is called the second death (xx. 14, xxi. 8). Therefore it is also said in xx. 6, μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν; comp. Tharg. Hieros. in Deut. xxxiii. 6, vivat Ruben in hoc seculo nec moriatur morte secunda, qua moriuntur impii in mundo futuro. Tharg. in

Ps. xlix. 11, Quoniam videbit sapientes impios qui morte secunda moriuntur et adjudicantur Gehennæ. For other passages among later Jews on the second death, see Wetstein.

3. Verses 12—17. Epistle to Pergamos.

This town lay north of Smyrna, in Mysia Major, on the northern bank of the river Caicus, distant about four miles from the sea, formerly the residence of the kings of the race of Attalus. It was also one of the most beautiful towns of Asia, a seat of the arts and sciences; it had a splendid library, which was added to, especially by King Eumenes II., so that it is said to have contained 200,000 volumes; but Antony carried it away to Egypt, and presented it to Cleopatra. Parchment took its name from this town. There was in it a famous temple of Æsculapius, which god is therefore called by Martial the God of Pergamos, *Pergameus Deus.* It was also the birth-place of Galen. We find the first trace of a Christian church here in the Revelation. From the epistle we see that the Church at that time had already suffered bloody persecutions; besides that, the freer, anti-Jewish and antinomian tendency was predominant in it, together with a more decided and firmer adherence to the gospel. Subsequently, under Marcus Aurelius, persecutions were again inflicted upon the Christians; and Eusebius (iv. 15) names several martyrs belonging to the Church. At present the town is called Pergamo; many ruins of the old one still remain. Besides the Turkish inhabitants, it contains a small Christian congregation of about 250 souls, who built for themselves a new church some time ago. Lindsay, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, who visited this region in 1816, states the number of Christians there to be several thousands, of whom both the Greeks and Armenians had a church. Many were killed in the Greek war of freedom, when the Turks landed there in the year 1823 (comp. Winer, R. W. B.; Rosenmüller, Bibl. Alterthumsk. Band i. Thl. ii. pp. 175 sqq., 221 sqq.; Schubert, i. pp. 316, 318)

Verse 12. *These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges,* after i. 16. This aspect of the Lord's person is made prominent in the present epistle because the Lord will make use of the sword of his mouth in combat with the seducers; see below verse 16.

Verse 13. *I know thy works.* Bengel, Lachmann and Tischendorf, have omitted the words τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ here, according to A. C. cursive, Copt. Aeth. Vulg. Patr. lat. Arethas and Andreas, too, do not take any notice of the words in their Commentaries; and Mill supposes them spurious, which is not unlikely; then the passage runs thus: *I know where thou dwellest (namely) where Satan's throne is.* Andreas and Arethas refer this to the idolatry practised in the town. So also most later interpreters, who find in it a special allusion to the worship of Æsculapius. Such is not improbable. Æsculapius was formed—and so he was found in the temple at Pergamos—sitting upon a throne, with a rod in his hand, round which a serpent twined itself. As the serpent was the symbol of Satan among the Jews of that time, and as Satan is also designated in our book the old serpent (xii. 9, xx. sqq.), the town, on account on its worship and temple of Æsculapius with such a symbol, might readily be described by writers as a seat of Satan. Others—as Ewald, De Wette, Hengstenberg, Ebrard—refer it merely to the severe persecutions which the Christians in the town had to suffer from its inhabitants. But the former reference may perhaps be connected with this, if the persecution came from the worshippers of idols, who resented the despising of a God esteemed so holy by them; it is always probable that the ὁ θρόνος τοῦ σατανᾶ has a more special reference to the worship of Æsculapius there. Züllig absurdly thinks that it refers merely to the most northerly situation from Pergamos of all the churches here mentioned, because Jewish tradition made Satan inhabit the north.

And thou holdest fast my name, dost not allow the confession of me to be taken from thee.

And hast not denied my faith (= in me), *even* (such here is

καὶ) *in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you where Satan dwelleth.* There is here an anakoluthon at least in the received text, from carelessness in the mode of writing; since another relative sentence is joined to the relative sentence ἐν αἷς κ. λ., without the latter having a finite verb: ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη. It would be more regular if the ὃς were not put. Lachmann, on the contrary, has omitted ἐν αἷς, according to A. C. Copt. Vulg. cursive (in other witnesses ἐν is wanting); then Ἀντίπας would be considered as the genitive instead of Ἀντίπα; it would be treated as indeclinable; and ὁ μάρτυς κ. λ. would stand as an apposition to the genitive, as in i. 4. That may perhaps be genuine: in the days of Antipas, my true witness, who, &c. As to the Antipas mentioned here, it appears from our passage itself that he must have suffered death as a martyr at Pergamos, perhaps not long before, in the time of Nero. The older Church writers do not know anything special about him. At all events the statement of a very late martyrology is incorrect, unknown even to Arethas, that he suffered under Domitian, having been burnt in a brazen bull made red-hot on account of his testimony to Christ. His bones are said to have rested in a church which now bears the name of Saint Sophia (Schubert, l.c. p. 317). The assumption of Hengstenberg is quite arbitrary, that the name Ἀντίπας is symbolical = who is against all = against the world, and that Timothy is designated.

Verse 14. *But I have against thee ὀλίγα a few things, something;* it is not many things which are blamed, although this is a heavy offence.

(That) *Thou hast there* (and sufferest) *them who hold the doctrine of Balaam,* firmly adhere to it, *who taught Balak.* Instead of the received τὸν Βαλὰκ, we must read, with Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf, τῷ, according to A. C. cursive; although this construction of the verb διδάσκειν with the dative of a person is against all Greek and Hellenic usage. We can hardly take the dative definitively, with Hengstenberg, who taught *for Balak,* in favour of him.

To cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel – as if to spread a net, to lay it down for them, whereby they would be tempted to sin and to fall away from their God; upon *βάλλειν* comp. Matt. x. 34, *εἰρήνην βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.*

To eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. See above on verse 6, on the men in the Church who are meant here, on their relation to apostolic Christianity, as well as on the description of them as adherents of the doctrine of Balaam, that is, as those who led astray the followers of the Lord, as Balaam did the Israelites in Moses's time, by representing to them that the satisfying of sensual lusts and the participation in sacrificial feasts of idols was not opposed to the spirit of the gospel, but conformable to Christian freedom.

Verse 15. *So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes.* The received text has here, at the end, ὃ μισῶ, which Züllig holds to; for which Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf, Compl., with the approval of Mill, and Bengel in the Gnomon, have ὁμοίως according to preponderating witnesses (A. B. C. 43 cursive, Syr. Copt. Vulg. Areth. Primas.): this is without doubt the genuine reading, ὃ μισῶ having arisen perhaps out of verse 6. Ewald reads, ὃ μισῶ ὁμοίως, which has scarcely anything to support it. The ὁμοίως is doubtless to be attached to the preceding, although it limps behind somewhat pleonastically, especially with οὕτως. The relation must be thus taken: Thou hast also, as was then the case among the Israelites, those in thy midst who maintain the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes. It is hardly correct to hold, with Bengel, De Wette and others, that the Nicolaitanes and those who maintained the doctrine of Balaam were different persons, and classes of seducers distinct from one another.

Verse 16. *Repent, or else I will come unto thee quickly* (comp. verse 5), *and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth;* with it I will cut them down, strike them to the ground, namely, those seducers, together with such as listen to them; which appears to have been the case, in this church at least, with the greater part of the members.

Verse 17. *To him that overcometh will I give of the hidden manna.* This is a typical expression for the enjoyment of happiness in the Messianic kingdom, attached to a later Jewish idea. According to Exod. xvi. 32—34, in remembrance of the wonderful feeding of the people in the wilderness by command of Moses, a gomer of manna was put into a vessel and preserved before the ark of the covenant. In the second Temple this manna-vessel was wanting, as well as the ark of the covenant; it was lost, together with the ark of the covenant, at the burning of the Temple by the Chaldeans, if not earlier. But since, as already remarked in the Introduction (at xi. 19), the idea arose among the later Jews that the ark of the covenant was not then burnt or destroyed at all, but was concealed by Jeremiah, or before his time by Josiah, or by some other divine arrangement, and would again appear in the days of the Messiah; the same was transferred to the vessel with manna also; and it was supposed that it would be again brought to light in the time of the Messiah by Elias. See upon this the Talmudic and Rabbinic passages in Wetstein, ad h. l. Here the expression *hidden manna* is probably borrowed from the belief in question; others take it without such reference, merely of the heavenly, spiritual manna, in contrast with natural manna; so Hengstenberg, Ebrard, &c. Yet the allusion to that Jewish tradition and idea is probable. As the manna on which the Israelites fed in the wilderness is called the *bread of heaven* (Ps. lxxviii. 24, cv. 40), the administering of the hidden manna which would appear at the advent of Messiah, might be taken to denote heavenly food in the kingdom of God; participation in its blessedness. Compare John vi. 31, from which it may be inferred that the Jews expected from the Messiah that he, like a second Moses, would feed them, as his predecessor had done, with manna, the bread of heaven.

And will give him a white stone, and on the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it. What the image of the ψῆφος λευκὴ is taken from, is very doubtful. Elsner and Schleusner believe it was derived from the lot, where a white

stone denotes good luck. Others—as Andreas, Arethas, Grotius, Eichhorn, Heinrichs, &c.—find in it an allusion to the tesseræ honoris, which the victors in the Olympian games received, and by which the right of public maintenance on the part of their native town was secured to them. Yet these tesseræ were not called ψῆφοι; and the epithet λευκή is not explained by them. This induces us, with other interpreters, to think rather of the custom of the Greeks, who voted with white and black stones in the condemnation or liberation of those who were accused. The white stone liberated; and the person so acquitted is also called νικῶν. Compare, for example, Theophrast. Charact. ch. xvii. § 3: δίκην νικήσας καὶ λαβὼν πάσας τὰς ψήφους. But as the reception of the stone is here supposed to contain also a reference to participation in the Messianic kingdom, one may say that the allusion is to those tesseræ honoris at the same time; and so the two last interpretations should be connected with one another, as Vitringa takes it. Hengstenberg attributes no independent signification to this member, to the act of receiving the white stone; but considers the stone as merely designed to bear the new name. For ὄνομα καινὸν, comp. Isaiah lxii. 2, where it is said of Jerusalem that at its restoration it shall be named with a new name, ὄνομα καινόν, שֵׁם חָדָשׁ. Is. lxv. 15, Jehovah will call his servants by another name, שֵׁם אַחֵר; LXX., again, ὄνομα καινόν. As far as the name is considered as corresponding to the essence of the thing, the conferring of a new name also denotes a change of nature and relations, and in such connection, exaltation and glorification. But in our passage, one may doubt whether the new name is here meant as that of the believers themselves, whereby they are designated as associates in the Messianic kingdom, as entitled to participate in its blessedness; or as the name of the Son of God, of the Messiah, by which he is described in regard to the complete glory wherein he is to appear at his coming. For the latter acceptation, comp. xiv. 1, according to which faithful believers have written upon their foreheads the name of the Lamb and his Father's name; and xix. 12, according to which the Messiah,

when appearing in battle with Antichrist, has a name written (on his head) which no one knows except himself. Ewald takes it in this manner, supposing it to mean the divine name of the Father, יְהוָֹה, according to its true pronunciation and signification, which were a secret in the opinion of the Jews. He understands, as Ebrard also does, ψῆφος to be a precious stone (the word is also used in this sense); the former,* of such a one as the faithful followers of the Lord are said to bear on their forehead, similar to the plate on the forehead of the Jewish high-priests, which had the inscription, קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָֹה (Exod. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30). But the expression does not lead one to think of such an ornament on the forehead; and on the whole the most probable idea is, that the new name denotes those persons themselves who receive the white stone in token of the honour and majesty designed for them.

4. Verses 18—29. Epistle to Thyatira.

Thyatira, in Lydia, on the borders of Mysia, situated on the river Lycus, six to seven miles north of Sardis, was a Macedonian colony. In ancient times it was called Pelopia and Evippia. According to Acts xvi., the Lydia who believed at Philippi, together with her household, and showed great kindness to Paul, was a seller of purple at Thyatira. Even she may have brought the Gospel to her native town, and spread it farther there. But Paul himself, or his companions, particularly those that went from Ephesus, during his residence in it of nearly three years, may have been there; or at least people out of this region may have heard him in Ephesus, and been converted by him. A predominantly Gentile-Christian character of the church may be inferred from our Epistle; it appears to have been distinguished particularly by works of love and charity; but it seems not to have hesitated in taking part in sacrificial idolatrous feasts, nor to have abstained from heathen debauchery,

* Ewald now interprets ψῆφος as "tessera hospitalis," "Gastzettelchen," upon which was the name of the guest's friend who received the guest into his house.

nor from fleshly lust of an extra-marital kind. The members even tried to justify this by intellectual sophisms, by an appeal to deeper wisdom. At a later period, violent contests took place in the church of this town; it was a seat of the fanatical Cataphrygians or Montanists; and another smaller party was opposed to them there, the party Epiphanius calls Alogi, who rejected the Apocalypse together with the other writings of John. For this they appealed, according to Epiphanius, to the fact that there was no church of Christians at Thyatira. As to the obscure and ambiguous in this assertion, we have already spoken in the general Introduction. At present the town is called Akhissar = white castle; according to Lindsay with about 30,000 inhabitants, driving a tolerably brisk trade, and with a by no means insignificant Christian congregation of about 3000 souls, mostly belonging to the Greek Church, a Christian school, and ruins belonging to antiquity; comp. Schubert, I. pp. 318 sqq.

Verse 18. *These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet like fine brass;* after i. 14, 15.

Verse 19. *I know thy works, and love and faith and service;* διακονία is, doubtless, here meant of service towards sick and needy persons, by contributions presented to them for their bodily subsistence; in which sense διακονία and διακονεῖν are specially used in the New Testament.

And thy patience, and that thy last works are more than the first, meaning, that the longer the time, the more thou distinguishest thyself in thy works = doubtless, works of love; πλείονα refers here not so much to number, multitude, as to worth, excellency, greatness; as Heb. xi. 4, πλείονα θυσίαν.

Verse 20. *Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee* (the received ὀλίγα is to be omitted, according to overwhelming evidence, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., introduced from verse 14), *because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel*—(instead of the received ἐᾷς, according to A. B. C.

36 cursive, ἀφεῖς is to be read, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. It is an unusual form, instead of ἀφίης, formed from ἀφέω, as τιθεῖς appears instead of τίθης; see Buttmann, Gr. Gr. I. 524; Winer, § xiv. 3, Anm. 6th ed. p. 75 above. In sense it is the same as ἐᾷς, suffer her, let her do as she pleases, without checking her; comp. John xi. 48, ἐὰν ἀφῶμεν αὐτὸν οὕτως. The Compl., Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and others, have σου after γυναῖκα, agreeably to A. 32 cursive, Syr. Andr. Areth. Prim. Probably, however, it is not genuine, but a later gloss. It is wanting in Tertullian and other Latin writers)—*which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants, to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.* Doubtless we are to consider Jezebel here only as a symbolical name, after the Sidonian princess known by that name, wife of the Israelitish king Ahab (about 900 before Christ), who made use of the weakness of her husband, and, after his death, of her two sons in succession, Ahasiah and Joram, to introduce the religion of her country, the worship of Baal, into Israel. At Samaria a temple was built to Baal; and the prophets of Jehovah, who opposed it with all their might, were persecuted and slain, till at last the whole race of Ahab, with all the priests of Baal, were murdered by Jehu, whom the prophet Elisha caused to be anointed king, and also Jezebel herself, who was thrown out of a window (1 Kings xvi. 19—2 Kings x.). We may accordingly assume, with the greatest probability, that there was at that time in the Christian church at Thyatira a woman highly endowed and possessed of authority, who promoted the same antinomian tendency which was predominant at Pergamos, and was able to introduce it by her influence. She is called another Jezebel, inasmuch as the eating of things sacrificed unto idols is considered a participation in idolatry. 2 Kings ix. 22 speaks of the many whoredoms and sorceries of Jezebel, and therefore she may have been regarded as a type in this respect, although perhaps it is meant figuratively of idolatry. Who was the woman meant here, who was denoted as

another Jezebel, is unknown. Many interpreters, who understand by the ἄγγελος the church's overseer, think of his wife; from which supposition has probably proceeded the insertion of σου, which, as we have already said, is not genuine. The reference disappears of itself with that interpretation of the ἄγγελος. On the other hand, it is not likely, when other interpreters, for example, Andreas, Arethas, Vitringa, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, &c., will not admit any reference to an individual woman, taking Jezebel merely as a symbolical designation of the antinomian false teachers. See, on the contrary, P. E. Jablonsky de Jezebele Thyatirenorum pseudoprophetissa, in his Opuscc. T. III. pp. 255 sqq. From the way in which the conduct of Jezebel is characterized, it is quite inadmissible to understand by her, as Züllig does, the Jewish Church, the Judaism of the place. As to the text, instead of the received τὴν λέγουσαν, we are to read, with Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ἡ λέγουσα, which Mill approves (after A. C., which is confirmed by ἡ λέγει, B. 32 cursive, Andr. Areth.); and instead of the received διδάσκειν κ. πλανᾶσθαι, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., καὶ διδάσκει κ. πλανᾷ τοὺς, according to A. B. C. 44 cursive, Syr. Arab. Copt. Aeth. Andr.

Verse 21. *And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.* From the connection with the preceding and following, we must not suppose that idolatry is meant here merely in a figurative sense, namely, free participation in the enjoyment of idolatrous sacrifices, but actual debauchery.

Verses 22, 23. *Behold I will cast her into a bed,* upon a sick bed, *and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with the plague;* ἐν θανάτῳ, so we should take here, and in vi. 8 (ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς), as θάνατος in the LXX. often stands for דֶּבֶר, for example, Ezek. xiv. 19, xxxiii. 27, &c.; and likewise in the Thargums, מוֹתָא, Syr. ܡܘܬܐ. We must also understand μοιχεύοντες μετ' αὐτῆς literally of such men in the church as this Jezebel knew

how to attract to herself, and who carried on with her an immoral and licentious intercourse. And likewise by the τέκνοις we are to think of her children in a literal sense, of whom she was to be deprived on account of her conduct. (Instead of ἔργων αὐτῶν, verse 22 end, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, as well as the Compl., Bengel, have ἔργων αὐτῆς, according to B.C. 40 cursive. The received is more easily got out of it. The αὐτῆς refers to the woman, and is to be taken of the conduct which she pursues and tempts others thereto—the works of Jezebel as it were.)

And all the church shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts; comp. Ps. vii. 10, בֹּחֵן לִבּוֹת וּכְלָיוֹת, Jer. xi. 20, בֹּחֵן כְּלָיוֹת וָלֵב, and so often (the LXX. never ἐρευνᾶν, but δοκιμάζειν, ἐτάζειν, &c.)

And I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

Verse 24. *But unto you I say, the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, who have not known the depths of Satan, as they say.* The adherents of the antinomian tendency attributed to themselves, without doubt, a special depth of knowledge above ordinary Christians who considered themselves bound by the moral law; they boasted of having fully apprehended the depths of Deity (τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ; comp. 1 Cor. ii. 10, τὸ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ). So also, according to Irenæus, ii. 38, 39, the Gnostics at that time designated their mysteries as profunda Dei et profunda Bythi. Here there is an allusion to the same idea which is specified as a discerning of the depths of Satan.

I lay (instead of the received βαλῶ—Lachmann, Tischendorf, with Mill approving; and Griesbach is very much inclined to the same—read βάλλω, after A. C. 35 cursive, Areth. &c.) *upon you none other burden.*

Verse 25. *But that which ye have already, hold fast,* keep, *till I come,* until my appearance. Many interpreters, as Beza, Calvin, Bengel, Heinrichs, Ewald (not now, however), Züllig, De Wette and Ebrard, understand the βάρος as troublesome, oppressive

plagues, so that the meaning would be, I will inflict upon you no other sufferings than those you have had until now from the persecution of the adversaries of the kingdom of God. But it refers much more probably, as others suppose (viz. Victorin, Vitringa, Bretschneider, Wahl, Hengstenberg), to the claims which the Lord makes on his followers, so that the meaning is, I lay upon you nothing more to do, only what you know already as my will, not the entire number of statutes in the Jewish law; in which reference it is said, in Acts xv. 28, μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τῶν ἐπάναγκες τούτων; comp. Matt. xxiii. 4. Plato, De legg. xi. 971, 5, τὸ τῶν τοιούτων νόμων βάρος. The κρατεῖν ὃ ἔχετε should be understood accordingly of holding firm the precepts given and hitherto known to them. But from iii. 11, where the same form occurs again, the sense is doubtless, hold fast the step which you have already got to, the share in the kingdom of God which you have already obtained; do not let it go again.

Verse 26. *And he that overcometh, and keeps my works,* as I order and as they correspond to my service, *unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations;* he shall share in the sovereignty of Christ in his kingdom, and exercise it over the nations who will not submit to him willingly; comp. 1 Cor. vi. 2, 2 Tim. ii. 12.

Verse 27. *And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to pieces.* Verse 28. *Even as I have received of my Father,* to exercise such power; comp. Luke xxii. 29 sqq., where Jesus promises the apostles to give over to them the power consigned to him by the Father. But in verse 27 there is a clear allusion to Ps. ii. 8, 9, where Jehovah says to the theocratic king, designated and anointed by him as a son: Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession; thou shalt break them (תְּרֹעֵם) with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Instead of תְּרֹעֵם (from רָעַע) the LXX. have expressed (καὶ ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ)

תִּרְעֵם, and so the writer here, if perhaps the passage from LXX. did not hover before his mind. At all events a firm, powerful and strict government of the hostile heathen is meant.

And I will give him the morning star. The exact meaning of these words is not without difficulty; xxii. 16 describes Christ himself as ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός. Accordingly, Vitringa, Wolf, Vogel, take the meaning here = me ipsum ei dabo, myself as the true morning star; which is not at all likely, since this designation of the Messiah had not appeared before. Eichhorn views it as a grammatical anomaly, αὐτῷ accus. αὐτὸν = I will make him a shining morning star. But this is too harsh; besides, one would not expect the article with it. Ewald* supposes it to be explained thus: "to give the morning star" means here, to impart the splendour of the morning star, that splendour which the Messiah himself enjoys; so also De Wette. More probably it should be explained in comparison with 2 Peter i. 19, to which Andreas already refers, by taking the morning star as the forerunner and announcer of the clear day = I will make the morning star dawn upon him, cause the dawn of salvation to arise after the night of affliction. So also Victorin: stella matutina noctem fugat, lucem annuntiat i.e. diei initium. Züllig very unnaturally understands the king of Babylon by the morning star, according to Isaiah xiv. 13, and here the king of new Babylon,—the last and most terrible of the Jewish kings to be expected,—Antichrist, who shall also surrender to the conqueror and be made subject.

Verse 29. Different from the three preceding epistles, this and the three following close with the words: *He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches*—since the announcement of what should fall to the lot of the conqueror had preceded, whilst it follows these words in the three first epistles.

* So also in the Jahrb. d. bibl. W. viii. 1856, p. 98 = make him shine as the morning star; where he thinks that the words belong after iii. 5. Now too in Johannes Apocalypse, 1862, p. 145.

5. Ch. iii. 1—6. Epistle to Sardis.

Sardis, south of Thyatira, at one time the very rich capital of Lydia, residence of Crœsus and the Lydian kings before him, on the river Pactolus, at the foot of Mount Tmolus. Destroyed by an earthquake about the year A.D. 20, it was again rebuilt in gorgeous style with the assistance of Tiberius. A Christian church here is first mentioned in the Apocalypse; at that time its members do not appear to have been distinguished for zeal toward the faith or purity of conduct. Under Marcus Aurelius (about 170), the apologist Melito was bishop there. The town was destroyed by wars in the middle ages, especially by Tamerlane's troops, and by several earthquakes. An earthquake in 1595 was specially destructive to the district. In the year 1671, the chaplain of the English factory at Smyrna, Smith, who visited the places where the seven apocalyptic churches existed (Epistolæ duæ, etc. Oxford, 1672, 8), found there a Turkish mosque and a few Christians. At present, Sart is a miserable Turkoman village of clay huts, but with considerable ruins, both of the heathen and Christian periods. Of the former are remains of the old acropolis and a temple of Cybele; of the latter, two churches (see Schubert, I. pp. 342—351). Lindsay found in the district, in 1816, a small village, Tater-Köny, with about forty Christian inhabitants and a Christian church.

Verse 1. *These things saith he that hath the seven spirits of God* (see on i. 4) *and the seven stars* (i. 16). *I know thy works, that thou hast a name* = that thou art good enough for one to believe and say of thee (comp., on ὄνομα ἔχειν, Herod. vii. 138, ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη, ἡ βασιλέως, ὄνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα); *that thou livest and yet art dead;* both in a spiritual sense; the church passed for a Christian one, but there was no true Christian life in it. Hence nothing is said here of the ὑπομονή which it had shown, nor of the θλῖψις which it had endured, through the fire of which it had passed and been tried.

Verse 2. *Be watchful,* rouse thyself from thy sleep of death, and be continually watchful, prepared to receive the Son of Man.

And strengthen the things which remain. The reading is very uncertain; the received text has, ἃ μέλλει ἀποθανεῖν, *that are ready to die.* Instead of this, there are several readings; the most probable, from external testimony, is that adopted by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν, according to A.C. 8 cursive, Syr. Copt. Vulg. Andr. Areth. Primas.; and this is also approved by Bengel in the Gnomon, meaning: what until now was about to die, namely, those parts of the church which had not entirely succumbed to death, but till now appeared to be near it. This would not perhaps refer to the members of the church of Sardis itself, who were not wholly dead, but to other parties in the church which were about to die; the Christian community at Sardis should try to wake up these once more, and strengthen them in the living faith. Others have, ἃ ἔμελλες ἀποβάλλειν (B. 31 cursive, Ar. Pol. Compl.). That would mean, strengthen (to thyself) the other things which thou still hast and appearest on the point of losing. In the same sense substantially Ewald reads, and Bengel, Gnomon, 1st ed., and New Testament also inclines, ἃ ἔμελλες ἀποθανεῖν, the things which remain, in respect of which it is to be feared that you are dying, that you lose not by death the virtues that have remained to you till now. But that would be too harsh grammatically, and has no sure basis in external evidence as it appears. The most probable reading is that of Griesbach and Lachmann.

For I have not found thy works perfect before God; that is, not such as correspond to the measure demanded by God; they appear too light in the divine scale. Comp. iv. 12, where the received πεπληρωμένοι (Lachmann, πεπληροφορημένοι) stands in reference to men with τέλειοι (ἵνα στῆτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληρωμένοι ἐν παντὶ θελήματι θεοῦ). John xvii. 13, χαρὰ πεπληρωμένη, and so in the New Testament frequently.

Verse 3. *Remember, therefore,* be mindful, *how thou hast received and heard,* namely, the evangelical doctrine from which thou expectest thy salvation, and which thou therefore must not allow to die or perish in thee: εἴληφας and ἤκουσας are quite the same here.

And hold fast and repent; if, therefore, thou wilt not watch, I will come (on thee) as a thief, and thou shalt not know, without thy knowing, *what hour I will come upon thee.* On this simile, comp. Matt. xxiv. 42—44; 1 Thess. v. 4.

Verse 4. *But thou hast* (still) *a few names in Sardis* (ὀνόματα, according to a peculiar usage for persons where their number is spoken; so xi. 13, ἀπεκτάνθησαν ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἑπτά. Acts i. 15, ἦν δὲ ὄχλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν), *who have not defiled their garments.* As the whiteness and purity of garments are a symbol of man's holiness and inward purity (comp. verse 18, xix. 8), so the dirty garment denotes not merely mourning, but is also the symbol of guilt; thus Zech. iii. 3 sqq. Accordingly, when it is said that they have not defiled their garments or stained them, it is meant that they kept themselves pure from the defilement of sins. Comp. Thargum on Eccles. ix. 8 (wear at all times white clothes = be continually joyful): omni tempore vestes tuæ albæ sint ab omni immunditie peccati.

And they shall walk with me in white garments, for they are worthy; in white garments, as saints, priests and angels; comp. vii. 9, 13, vi. 11.

Verse 5. *He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment* (περιβάλλεσθαι with ἔν τινι, also iv. 4, and twice LXX.; elsewhere usually with the accusative, as also frequently in our book itself).

And I will not blot his name out of the book of life, will leave it in the number of those who belong to life eternal; according to a figure, frequently occurring in the Bible, taken from the institution of an earthly state, where the names of the citizens alive are registered in a book, and blotted out at their death. For our expression comp. particularly Ps. lxix. 29, יִמָּחוּ מִסֵּפֶר חַיִּים וְעִם־צַדִּיקִים אַל־יִכָּתֵבוּ (LXX., ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βιβλίου ζώντων).

And I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels, acknowledge him as belonging to me. Comp. Matt. x. 32,

Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess (not deny) also before my Father which is in heaven; for which Luke xii. 8 has, The Son of Man will confess him before the angels of God; comp. ib. ix. 26.

Verse 6. *He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches;* comp. ii. 25.

6. Verses 7—13. Epistle to Philadelphia.

An important town of Lydia, about five German miles south-east of Sardis, also at the foot of the Mount Tmolus; it got its name from its founder, the Pergamenian king Attalus Philadelphus, brother of Eumenes. It has often suffered from earthquakes. A Christian church there is mentioned only in the Apocalypse. As to numbers, it appears not to have been important, but to have kept its faith, especially in contests with the unbelieving Jews. Among the Letters of Ignatius is found one to the church at Philadelphia. At a later period this town of Asia Minor resisted the attacks of the Turks longest, until it was conquered, 1392, by Bajased I. At present it is called Allahscheher, where a church of Greek Christians of about fifty families* still exists, with some small chapels and considerable ruins of an older church, and of the Byzantine walls and castle. (Rosenm. bibl. Alterthk. I. II. pp. 181 sqq., 233 sqq.; Schubert, I. pp. 353—355.)

Verse 7. *These things saith he that is holy, he that is true* (comp. i. 5, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός), *he that hath the key of David, he that openeth,* with this key, *and no man shutteth,* none other daring or able to shut, *and shutteth and no man openeth*—οὗ ἀνοίγοντος οὐδεὶς κλείει, οὗ κλείοντος οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει. This alludes to Is. xxii. 22, where Jehovah appoints one Eliakim as overseer of the royal palace in Jerusalem; whereupon it is said, "and the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so that he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none

* According to Lindsay, there were then living about one thousand Greek Christians, with five large churches.

shall open." When the key *of David* is named instead in our passage, the meaning probably is, that belonging to David, the key carried by him; David is viewed as the regent of God's people, and as a type of the Messiah, the second David, who carries this key and has power over the kingdom of God, viz. without anybody preventing him, he has the power to receive into and to exclude from it; comp. Matt. xvi. 19, καὶ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Verse 8. *I know thy works. Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it.* The image of opening the door appears frequently for the opening of space to Christian teachers in spreading the gospel; 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12; Col. iv. 13. Accordingly, many interpreters, as Grot., Vitringa, Ewald, De Wette, Ebrard, understand it here in the sense of, "I give thee opportunity to extend the kingdom to others also." But we should then least of all expect the præterite δέδωκα. Verse 9 also, to which appeal is made for confirmation of this interpretation, does not support it, for there the subject is not the conversion of the false Jews, but rather their being put to shame. It is much more likely, with other interpreters, for example Hengstenberg and Eichhorn, to refer it to the opening of the door through which this church itself got access to the kingdom of God, without anybody being able to take from it participation in the kingdom; comp. Acts xiv. 27, ὅτι ἤνοιξε (ὁ θεὸς) τοῖς ἔθνεσι θύραν πίστεως.

For thou hast (only) *a little strength*, referring without doubt to the smallness of the church, as well as the unimportant position of its members externally, *and hast (yet) kept my word*, my doctrine, *and hast not denied my name.*

Verse 9. A manifold anakoluthon occurs here. The verb δίδωμι is = נָתַתִּי, I give, make, viz. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ. Instead of τῶν λεγόντων, the accusative (corresponding to the τοὺς omitted) should properly stand, τοὺς λέγοντας; the genitive, less exact for the sense, is caused by the similar case preceding it in τῆς συναγωγῆς κ. λ. But the δίδωμι is afterwards

taken up again in the ποιήσω αὐτοὺς, on account of the length of the members intervening. *Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie* (= who wish to make themselves appear falsely as Jews, as the true people of God; comp. the same designation, ii. 9); *behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.* Consequently, I will so glorify myself in thee, my true church, that even the unbelievers among the Jews, who now persecute and oppose thee, shall humble themselves before thee, shall recognize thy sovereignty; comp. ii. 26 sqq., where dominion over the heathen is promised to the conqueror; comp. as well, Is. xlix. 23, lx. 14.

Verse 10. *Because thou hast kept the word of my patience,* which should probably be taken, according to the remarks made on i. 9, the command to wait with patience for me, my appearing; comp. 2 Thess. iii. 5, the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Therefore it is not necessary, with Beza, Vitringa and others, to apply the μου to the whole conception, the command of constancy given by me = τὸν λόγον μου τὸν τῆς ὑπομονῆς.

I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon earth; referring to the time of great tribulation preceding the coming of the Lord, which will overtake all the inhabitants of the earth and try them. The construction τηρεῖν ἔκ τινος, which is also found in John xvii. 15 (ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ), may be viewed as a *pregnant* one = τηρεῖν κ. ῥύεσθαι ἔκ τινος. The idea of deliverance from the evil is also contained in it.

Verse 11. *I come quickly, hold fast,* keep, *what thou hast* (see at ii. 25 where the same occurs), *that no man take thy crown,* the crown which is now thy due; comp. ii. 10.

Verse 12. *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out;* the subject of the latter member is probably not the pillar, but the conqueror himself. It follows from this member, that the former chiefly means

that such a one will receive a place as sure as it is distinguished in the Church of God, here compared to a temple; at the same time it includes the idea that he himself will essentially serve in upholding the building; comp. Gal. ii. 9, οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι. Whether, as some interpreters have supposed, there is an allusion here to the two solid and brilliant pillars which stood at the entrance of the Temple of Solomon, and were called Jachim and Boaz (1 Kings vii. 15—21; 2 Chron. iii. 15—17), is extremely doubtful. One might rather suppose, with Ewald, that the writer had in his mind Is. xxii. 22 sqq., where it is said (verse 23) of the new keeper, that Jehovah will fasten him as a nail to a sure place, so that the image used there would be here ennobled.

ἐξέρχεται here = ἐκβάλλεται, as for example, Mark ix. 29, &c.

And I will write upon him the name of my God, to designate him as belonging to my God, as a true citizen of God's kingdom.

And the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; namely, I will mark him as entitled to this seat of the blessed. On such designation of the New Jerusalem, see xxi. 2 (κ. τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν εἶδον καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ). 10 (similarly). In naming the New Jerusalem, a reference perhaps occurs to Ezek. xlviii. 35, according to which the name of the New Jerusalem would be יְהוָה שָׁמָּה; so Vitringa conjectures.

And I will write upon him my new name, is probably meant of the name which the Son of Man shall have written (on his forehead) at his appearance in battle with Antichrist; agreeably to xix. 12, of which name it is said that no one knows it except himself; comp. at ii. 17.

Verse 13.

ℵ 7. Verses 14—22. Epistle to Laodicea.

Laodicea was a very considerable commercial town in Phrygia, the capital of Phrygia Pacatiana, on the Lycus, situate in the vicinity of Colossæ and Hierapolis. It received this name from king Antiochus II. Theos, in honour of his wife Laodice; having

been called at an earlier period Diospolis, then Rhoas. We learn for the first time the existence of a Christian church, or at least of a number of Christians in this town from the Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 1, iv. 13, 15). Probably the gospel had reached it through Epaphras, or other men of that district, who had come into contact with Paul at Ephesus or elsewhere. It may be seen from Col. iv. 16 that Paul intended to send an Epistle to Laodicea along with the Colossian one. Probably that is our so-called Epistle to the Ephesians, which was originally written to the Laodiceans and other Christians of the district. The followers of the Lord consisted mostly of heathens. About A.D. 60, Laodicea was destroyed by an earthquake, and appears to have recovered again very soon; an event to which Tacitus refers, Ann. xiv. 27 (eodem anno ex illustribus Asiæ urbibus Laodicea tremore terræ prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio propriis remediis revaluit). In the apocalyptic Epistle the church appears to rely upon its wealth, but to be very lukewarm for the kingdom of God; probably it consisted in part of the wealthier inhabitants. The place is now called Eski-Hissar (old castle), is inhabited by shepherds; and ruins of antiquity are still to be found there, partly in a good state of preservation.

Verse 14. *These things saith the Amen.* ἀμὴν is elsewhere used in the New Testament as in Hebrew אָמֵן adverbially = ἀληθῶς. It is here put for a substantive = he in whom is all truth; comp. Is. lxv. 16, אֱלֹהֵי אָמֵן. It is explained by what follows, *the true and faithful witness;* on which see i. 5, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός.

The beginning of the creation of God, is doubtless not to be explained, with many interpreters, according to i. 5, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν; nor, with others, does the κτίσις mean the new creation, the church; but with Col. i. 15, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, as designating him who first proceeded from the Heavenly Father, who existed before all creatures, namely, as Logos, as the Word of God, therefore = ὁ πρῶτος, ii. 8, i. 17.

Verse 15. *I know thy works, that thou art neither hot nor cold;*

I would thou wert cold or hot. They had accepted the gospel, had not repudiated it, but without the zeal to do or to suffer in any degree for it, to undergo any denial and sacrifice for it. Had they been once very lukewarm with respect to it from want of knowledge, it might the more readily be expected that after the desired knowledge they would be roused to a lively zeal on its behalf. Instead of the received εἴης, we must read ἦς, with the Compl., Bengel, Lachmann, &c., according to C. 31 cursive, Andr. Areth.; as ὄφελον with the indicative (of the aorist (1 Cor. iv. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 1), is treated as a particle of wishing, in the manner of later Greek; the Attic for it would have been, εἴθ' ὤφελες εἶναι. Griesbach has written ᾖς as subjunctive. Yet the subjunctive with ὄφελον hardly occurs; but the optative (as the received reading is) is not at all to be found (according to Ewald) in the Apocalypse.

Verse 16. *So,* as the affair at present stands with thee, it is said again in explanation, *because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth;* ἐμέσαι, properly evomere, to give out by vomiting, such as tepid water; the figurative expression alludes to that and means, I will expel thee with displeasure from my society.

Verse 17. ὅτι, in the beginning, might be joined with what precedes as a causal particle, because thou sayest, &c. But it is more likely to be (as verse 10) the beginning of the protasis, of which verse 18 forms the apodosis, *because thou sayest,* thinkest with thyself, and boastest of it; *I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing,* I want nothing; they boasted of their earthly wealth; also of spiritual wealth, according to other interpreters, as De Wette and Hengstenberg, i.e. of their virtue, piety; and did not consider how poor indeed they were in true goods, those alone which are of value before God. Conversely it is said of the church at Smyrna, ii. 9, οἶδά σου . . τὴν πτωχείαν, ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ.

And knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Verse 18. *I counsel thee to buy of me gold*

tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich. The emphasis is here especially on the παρ' ἐμοῦ. The treasures which have true value, truly tend to adorn man, can only come from the Lord. They are here described as gold made red-hot, and so tried by fire, refined and purified. On πεπυρωμένος, comp. Prov. x. 21, ἄργυρος πεπυρωμένος, and so the verb frequently stands for צָרַף; comp. 1 Pet. i. 7, χρυσίον . . . διὰ πυρὸς δοκιμαζόμενον. The ἐκ is = מִן, on the part of fire = heated, tried by fire.

And white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear. Nakedness is the laying aside of all true Christian virtue, of all that clothes the Christian and becomes him; as white clothes are the symbol of purity and innocence.

And anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see, mayest be able to see; now, in considering thyself rich, thou provest thyself blind, wanting in proper knowledge of thyself, and of thy deficiency and need, therefore thou requirest from me the means of making thine eye clearer, in order to see better. κολλούριον, for which usually κολλύριον, Latin collyrium, properly a diminutive of κόλλυρα (a kind of bread or cake of oval form), means a mass of round oblong form, used as eye-salve, both as an ornament and means of cure. The word is also adopted by the later Jews, קִילּוֹרִין and קִילּוֹרִית. The word of God is often described as such by them, referring to Ps. xix, 8, "The commandment of God is pure, enlightening the eyes."

Verse 19. *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten,* probably an allusion to Prov. iii. 12; comp. Heb. xii. 6.

Be zealous, therefore, and repent. Instead of the received ζήλωσον, we must read ζήλευε, with Lachmann, Tischendorf (according to A. B. C. 23 cursive, Arethas), which being here the rarer, is probably the original form. The meaning is, be no longer so lukewarm as before, but be zealous for that which thou thyself knowest to be right.

Verse 20. *Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door, then* (Griesbach as well as the

Compl. and others have καὶ before εἰσελεύσομαι, after about 22 codd. min.; the apodosis would then begin in the Hebrew way, but the oldest witnesses have it not) *I will come in to him, and will sup*, dine, *with him, and he with me.* The Lord is here represented as going about and inquiring which of the members of the Church proves himself his friend by listening to his voice, and promises to unite himself in the most intimate manner with such an one; as the host's friend who finds a welcome reception from the host. Instead of κρούειν (τὴν θύραν), κόπτειν is more usual in Attic, from the knocking at the door, which was made by him outside who sought entrance. When asked by the door-keeper, he mentioned his name, and made himself known as an inmate or friend (ψοφεῖν is used of the knocking, by which somebody who is within, when he opens the door, warns him who is standing outside to withdraw).

The καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ alludes probably to participation in the happiness of the Messianic kingdom, which is often compared to a feast, a marriage-feast; comp. xix. 9, μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι.

Verse 21. *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me on my throne*, that he may take part in my kingdom and my sovereignty; comp. ii. 26 sqq., xxii. 5.

Even as I also overcame, and am set down = as I also, after having conquered, obtained the victory in battle with the world (comp. John xvi. 33, ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον), have placed myself *with* or *beside my Father on his throne.* Hence in xxii. 1, it is called, ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου.

Verse 22.

So far these apocalyptic epistles, and the description of the appearance of the Son of Man, who causes them to be written to the churches by the seer. This appearance now vanishes. The two following chapters form an introduction to the revelation of the future itself afterwards given. First

Ch. iv.

. The theatre is presented on which this revelation is said to take place, viz. heaven, with the throne of God and its surroundings. Thither the seer is now carried in spirit. For the following description in general, namely, the events and relations of the future occurring in view of the seer in heaven, we should compare an idea of the later Jews, that God the Lord causes all that is to happen upon earth to pass in heaven before his eyes and those of his angels. Compare Maimonides, More nevochim, ii. 6: Sapientes nostri ad id, quod Gen. i. 26, xi. 7, in nostra lege legimus, ita scribunt; si ita loqui licet, non facit Deus quidquam, donec illud intuitus fuerit in familia superiori.

Verse 1. *After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven,* through which the seer, as it were, as promised in verse 2, might ascend to heaven, and be witness of what happened there. Elsewhere, too, the act of opening heaven serves to denote an ecstatic condition, whereby one is enabled to behold God and receive a revelation of divine things. Comp. Ezek. i. 1, It happened that the heavens opened, and I saw visions of God. Acts x. 11, vii. 56; Matt. iii. 16.

And the first, = earlier, *voice which I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking to me* (after i. 10), *saying* (instead of the received λέγουσα, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have λέγων, according to A. B. 25 cursive; approved also by Mill and Wetstein, which is explained by supposing that the writer thinks of the angel from whom the voice came).

Come up hither, into heaven (ἀνάβα, so also among the Attics, instead of the usual ἀνάβηθι, imper. aor. 2 (ἀνέβην), from ἀναβαίνειν; see Winer, § xiv. 1).

And I will show thee things which must be hereafter.

Verse 2. *(And) immediately I was in the spirit;* I fell into ecstasy; and by means of it, he intends to say, not in a bodily manner, I was transported into heaven.

And behold a throne was set in heaven, was placed, as κεῖσθαι frequently = perf. passive of τιθέναι, positum esse.

And one was sitting on the throne, one sat. This is, as we infer from the following description, God the Father, whom the seer does not mention intentionally, but only represents in his appearance and leaves it to be guessed. So also Dan. vii. 9, where he is beheld as the Ancient of Days, sitting on the throne that is set up; and Ezek. i. 26 sqq. Besides this, compare with the following description the Theophanies in Is. vi.; Ezek. i. and x.; 1 Kings xxii. 19.

Verse 3. *And he that sat was to look upon* (ὁράσει = לְמַרְאֶה, in appearance, to look on) *like a jasper and a sardine stone;* both are precious stones, named here in reference to their lustre; jasper is of different colours; the best is purple, probably the one meant here; the σάρδιος, which the LXX. have for the Hebrew אֹדֶם, is a red transparent stone, also called cornelian; it bore the name σάρδιος because it was first found at Sardis, according to Pliny, H. N. xxxvii. 7. Compare besides Ezek. i. 27, where Jehovah appears as fire to look upon, surrounded by splendour.

And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald; comp. Ezek. i. 28, "As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about (round the divine majesty)." Here the rainbow round the divine throne should probably be considered a sign of divine grace and mercy; comp. Gen. ix. 13 sqq. Of the colours which are united in the natural rainbow, green is here named, that of the emerald, probably to moderate the dazzling fiery form of God; as Pliny says, H. N. xxxvii. 5, that when the eyes are blinded by any other sight, that of the emerald restores them again.

Verse 4. *And round about the throne (of God) were four-and-twenty seats; and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.* These form, as it were, assessors of the divine judgment; as it is an idea of the later Jews that God has made for himself consessum seniorum suorum, whereby they explain in part the passage in Is. xxiv. 23 (when the Lord of Hosts

shall reign in Mount Sion and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously, וְנֶגֶד זְקֵנָיו כָּבוֹד). The number twenty-four is perhaps chosen with reference to the number of the tribes of Israel, this number being doubled with relation to the reception of the heathen; perhaps borrowed also from the twenty-four classes of priests and their overseers. The white garments refer to their pure and priestly character; the crowns, to their participation in divine government and judgeship.

Verse 5. *And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices.* The φωναὶ are explained by the βρονταὶ; in the same manner, φοναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ, viii. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18. We find in the Old Testament also manifestations of Jehovah generally accompanied by thunder and lightning; comp. Exod. xix. 16, Ps. l. 3, xcvii. 1 sqq., xviii. 14.

And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are, which symbolize, *the seven spirits of God;* comp. i. 4—12 sqq., ii. 1.

Verse 6. *And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal.* Before θάλασσα, should be read, with Compl, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., ὡς, according to A. 37 cursive, Syr. Copt. Vulg. Areth. Victorin, &c., Latin Fathers. The floor which extended before the divine throne is so designated in reference to its clearness, brightness, transparency. It is also in accordance with an Old Testament idea, that over the firmament where the divine throne rests is the heavenly ocean, the water above the firmament (Gen. i. 7; Ps. civ. 3; comp. Exod. xxiv. 10). Moses, Aaron and the elders beheld the God of Israel, and under his feet there was as it were a work of transparent sapphire and as heaven itself in clearness. Ezek. i. 22, upon the heads of the beasts (the cherubim bearing the divine chariot-throne) was seen the form of a firmament, as the appearance of crystal, terrible, stretched out over their heads.

And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. By these ζώοις we have to think of four cherubim, whose description here is chiefly bor-

rowed from that of Ezek. i. and x., where they, four in number, appear as bearers of the divine chariot-thrones, and are also designated as ζῶα, חַיּוֹת. They unite in themselves the form of the four chief and strongest living beings upon earth—man, the lion, the bull and the eagle—in such a manner, however, that in Ezek. this fourfold form appears united in each; for there, each cherub has four faces, that of a man, that of a lion, of a bull, and of an eagle; whilst in the following description this fourfold figure is divided among the four cherubim. Part of our description is also borrowed from that of the seraphim in Is. vi. 2, 3. It does not appear very clearly how we are to conceive the position and relation of these cherubim to the divine throne. A few, as Ewald and Eichhorn, suppose them the same as in Ezek., bearers of the throne, so that with the hinder part of their body they supported the throne on its different sides and were concealed under it (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου), while they looked away with their faces toward the four quarters of heaven (κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου). But it is more likely, from the expression, that the throne formed a semicircle, the fore part open, a half-moon, within which two of the cherubim stood (ἐν μέσῳ), and the other two at the back side. This idea of κύκλῳ is confirmed by the way in which, in verse 8, κυκλόθεν stands in antithesis to ἔσωθεν. So also De Wette in his Commentary. As to the cherubim's many eyes, see Ezek. x. 12, according to which their whole body, their backs and their hands and their wings, with the wheels (of the carriage), were full of eyes round about. This serves to denote the continual watchfulness of the cherubim, by which quality they appeared fit to guard Paradise (Gen. iii. 24).

Verse 7. *And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a* μόσχος; the latter does not here mean a calf, but a young, powerful bull, as it often stands in the LXX. for שׁוֹר; e.g. Ezek. i. 10.

The third beast had the face of a man (so Griesbach, τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, more probably, with Lachmann, Tischendorf, τ. πρ. ὡς ἀνθρώπου, according to A. 3 cursive, Syr. Ar. Copt. Vulg.; received

text, ὡς ἄνθρωπος). The meaning, at all events, is, that it had not properly the form of a man, but only a face like a human one.

And the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. The epithet should not be particularly pressed, being merely a general designation of the nature of the eagle compared with the before-mentioned animals.

Verse 8. *And the four beasts had each of them six wings, full of eyes round about and within.* In many respects the text is not quite certain here. Instead of the received εἶχον, Griesbach, Lachmann and others have ἔχον, as already the Compl., Bengel, &c. (according to B. 21 cursive; ἔχων, A. 6 cursive, also speaks for it, which Tischendorf has accepted, but which is probably but an accidental mistake in writing). Ἔχον, a partic. neuter, sing., must be considered as introduced by the ἓν καθ' ἕν, if it is not meant by the writer as a finite verb for εἶχον or ἔσχον. The same critics, as well as Tischendorf and also Compl., Bengel, &c., have γέμουσι instead of γέμοντα, after A.B. 36 cursive, Vulg. Andr. Areth. But this perhaps is not meant as indicative, but as a participle, although the dative would then be very incorrect. In any case it is probable, as respects the meaning, that the abundance of eyes spoken of does not, as Ewald, Züllig, De Wette, Hengstenberg and Ebrard think, refer to the cherubim themselves, where it would be a mere repetition of what was already said in verse 6; but to their wings. The same thing is mentioned of the wings in Ezek. x. 12; the κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν is then more suitable = round about, outwardly, from without; *and from within*, on the side of the wings turned to the body. As to the number of the wings, the cherubim in Ezek. i. 6 have only four; here the number six is probably borrowed from the seraphim in Is. vi. 2, of which the following description reminds us: *And they rest not day and night, saying* = without ceasing, they cry day and night, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty* (Is. l. c. verse 3, קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת.

Which was, and is, and is to come; comp. i. 4.

Verses 9—11. κ. ὅταν δώσουσι . . πεσοῦνται . . καὶ βαλοῦσι. That

futures are put here must be considered inexactness in the description. The aorist or present should have been properly put to represent what happened and that repeatedly, either in this vision before the eyes and ears of the seer; or what happened repeatedly in this circle of phenomena, both before and after this vision. In Hebrew, the future (imperfect) would be used. Yet the future should not be considered here merely as a hebraizing inaccuracy in the use of tenses, as many interpreters think, such as Hengstenberg, Ebrard, even Lücke (2nd ed. p. 451); but only that the writer, as was already assumed in the general Introduction, departed from the form of vision, so that he actually thought of what is here stated as something still future, and as something going on for a length of time; *and when* = as often as; so also Winer (6th ed. § 40, 6, p. 251).

And when those beasts give glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, (verse 10) *the four-and-twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne,* conscious of their weakness and unworthiness, conscious that God the Lord is alone Lord, Ruler and Governor, *saying,*

Verse 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord.* Instead of κύριε, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, our Lord and God, according to A. B. (others, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν), which perhaps is original; the other having arisen from the idea that Christ is referred to.

To take, to receive, *glory and honour and power, for thou hast created all things, and by thy will* (διὰ with accus., here = genitive, similarly xii. 11 sqq. and also in other writers) *they were and are created;* comp. Ps. cxlviii. 5, כִּי־הוּא צִוָּה וְנִבְרָאוּ. ἦσαν and ἐκτίσθησαν are here in this connection nearly synonymous. The received text has εἰσὶ; the ἦσαν, approved by Mill and accepted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, is found in A. B. C. 30 cursive, Copt. Vulg. Areth.

Ch. v.

Introduction of the book, which, closed with seven seals, contains the future of the world and the church, and a description of the Lamb as the person who is able to open these seals.

Verse 1. *And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne* (one should rather expect ἐν, instead of ἐπὶ with the accusative. But it is similar in xx. 1, ἔχοντα . . ἅλυσιν μεγάλην ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ. Perhaps it should be explained thus: the book lay and the roll hung over his outstretched right hand), *a book written within and on the back side.* For ὄπισθεν is found ἔξωθεν in many cursive and other witnesses, but it is doubtless a later elucidatory emendation. What is meant is, that the book or roll was not written merely on the one side, the inner, but on the other side, the back. Such ὀπισθόγραφα were rare among the ancients. The same, that is here ὄπισθεν, is in Juvenal, Sat. i. 6, a tergo scriptus. Ezek. ii. 9, 10, probably lies at the foundation of this idea, where the prophet sees a hand stretched out towards him, and in it a roll of a book (מְגִלַּת־סֵפֶר), which, when spread out, appears as כְּתוּבָה פָּנִים וְאָחוֹר written within and on the back side.

Sealed with seven seals, and thereby its contents kept closed and concealed. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 34, "Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures?" (בְּאֹצְרֹתָי). Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9. For the rest, it is not quite clear how we are to imagine the form of this book and the external relation of the seven seals to it. At the opening of each of the seven seals individually, a portion of the contents of the book is always brought to view. As it appears, however, as if all the seven seals were already visible at the beginning, we must imagine that they were placed at the corner of the roll, at the knob of the rod, but in such a way as that different parts of the roll were held together by different seals. Otherwise it would be more natural to suppose that the seals in the middle of the rod held or closed up one part of the roll; or also, because the book consisted of seven single rolls over one another, that the seals closed up a single roll. But then they could not all have been visible

from the beginning, each time; only one; whence it must be admitted that the seer did not perceive them immediately, but only learnt the thing from the following discourse of the angel, and anticipated it here.

Verse 2. *And I saw a strong angel;* ἰσχυρὸς, as the epithet of an angel, also in x. 1, xviii. 21, is probably meant to indicate his superhuman form; *proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof.* The ἄξιος includes the idea that he is able to do it, since it is bestowed by God only upon him that is worthy; comp. John i. 27 with Matt. iii. 11.

Verse 3. *And no one in heaven* (Griesbach adds ἄνω, *above*, following B. 23 cursive, Syr. Copt., perhaps from Exod. xx. 4), *nor in earth, neither under the earth* = none of all the creatures in the world, according to Exod. l. c.; comp. below, verse 3, where ἐπὶ τῆς δαλάσσης is added besides, *was able to open the book, neither to look thereon*, viz. inside it, after opening it to see its contents. For such is without doubt the meaning; not, as Heinrichs thinks, to look on the book, to endure the sight of it.

Verse 4. *And I wept much* (we also say so instead of *violently;* similarly, πολλὰ adverbially, Mark iii. 12, v. 10. Here Compl., Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have πολύ, according to B., about 40 cursive, Andr. Areth.; comp. Luke vii. 47), *because no man was found worthy to open the book, neither to look thereon*, so that no prospect appeared at hand for him, the seer, to learn anything concerning the important contents of the book.

Verse 5. *And one of the elders*, of the number of the twenty-four elders, iv. 4, *saith unto me, Weep not; behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David* = the Messiah; in the latter way he is designated, xxii. 16. The Messianic passage, Is. xi. 10, lies at the foundation of this יִשַׁי שֹׁרֶשׁ LXX., ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ, where שֹׁרֶשׁ stands for sprout, and likewise for ῥίζα. Gen. xlix. 9 lies at the foundation of the former designation, where Jacob describes his son Judah as a young lion, in reference to his

tribe; compares him to a lion and a lioness. This is transferred to the Messiah, who as David's sprout belonged to the tribe of Judah.

Hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof, that is, he has deserved, received as reward, won by his victory over the world (comp. iii. 21) the power and privilege of opening the book.

Verse 6. *And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the twenty-four elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain.* Ewald explains the ἐν μέσῳ . . ἐν μέσῳ = בֵּין וּבֵין = between the throne, together with the four beasts and the twenty-four elders. In the same manner also Züllig, De Wette and Hengstenberg take the meaning. But after the remarks on the ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου (iv. 6), and the probable form of the throne, this assumption is not exactly necessary. Each ἐν μέσῳ may be taken by itself; the Lamb stands inside the half-circle of the throne, and therefore also in the midst of the elders surrounding the throne, likewise surrounded by them. So Ebrard rightly. Jesus is described as a Lamb (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) by John the Baptist, John i. 29; where the representation of the *servant of God* in Is. liii. 7 lies at the foundation; comp. 1 Pet. i. 19; Acts viii. 32. The ὡς ἐσφαγμένου means that it presented the appearance of a lamb slain, although it lived; comp., in regard to Nero, xiii. 3.

With seven heads and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth, into all lands. For the latter, comp. Zech. iv. 10, where the seven lamps of the golden candlestick which the prophet beholds in vision are described as the eyes of Jehovah, which run through the whole earth (מְשׁוֹטְטִים בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ). The seven spirits of God which the Son of Man has, according to iii. 1, are here symbolized by his seven eyes; just as they are in iv. 5 by the seven lamps before the divine throne. Seven is chosen as the number of the horns, to be in proportion to the number of the eyes; it also serves to denote the strength and dominion of the Lamb. Instead of

τὰ ἀπεσταλμένα, Lachmann has ἀπεσταλμένοι, after A., referring to the eyes. Others, ἀποστελλόμενα, with or without the article; yet the received is probably the original reading.

Verse 7. *And he came and took* (it; the received text adds, τὸ βιβλίον, probably a gloss, as Mill thinks; omitted by Lachmann, wanting in A. B. 30 cursive, Arm. Aeth.) *out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne*; verse 8, *and when he had taken the book, the four beasts and twenty and four elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.* As ἔχοντες ἕκαστος stands here, the meaning cannot be, as Eichhorn thinks, that part had harps, another part vials of incense. The relative αἵ does not refer in sense to φιάλας, as De Wette and others assume, but to θυμιάματα. The gender is determined by the object, προσευχαί. As to the present symbol, the daily sacrificial incense of the priests in the Temple is viewed as causing the prayers of the people standing without to ascend to God. Comp. also below, viii. 3, 4, as well as Ps. cxli. 2, where conversely it is said, "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice;" which passage, although of a somewhat different kind, may have floated before the mind.

Verse 9. *And they sung a new song* (as שִׁיר חָדָשׁ, Ps. xxxiii. 3, xl. 4, &c., a new one as it were, because among the old ones there was none sufficiently worthy for the purpose), *saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof:* for *thou wast slain*, allowedst thyself to be slain, *and hast redeemed (us) to God by thy blood* (ἀγοράζειν, as in xiv. 3, 4; 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 1) *out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.* According to the received reading with ἡμᾶς (after τῷ θεῷ), which De Wette, Hengstenberg and Ebrard maintain, the singers designate themselves, and appear themselves as perfected believers out of different nations. So also in verse 10, according to the received reading of the text, ἐποίησας ἡμᾶς and βασιλεύσομεν. But there, without doubt, αὐτοὺς should be read

(with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and others, after A. B. 40 cursive, Syr. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. Andr.); and also the verb in the third person, βασιλεύσουσι (Griesbach), or more probably βασιλεύουσι (Compl., Lachmann, Tischendorf, probably Mill, after A. and many cursive, Ar. Pol. Copt. Vulg. Andr. Areth. al. lat.). This third person, verse 10, would not, however, be natural, if here, in verse 9, the ἡμᾶς were genuine; which is entirely wanting in A. Aeth. In other manuscripts and witnesses it stands before τῷ θεῷ. Tischendorf and Lachmann, ed. maj., have omitted it. But in fact ἡμᾶς is in itself somewhat improbable, since not merely the twenty-four elders, but also the four ζῶα, are described as those who sing; and those therefore would be denoted as perfected believers who a short time ago lived as men upon earth, and, according to verse 10, as those who should again reign upon earth. Besides the perfected believers, Christian martyrs appear below at the foot of the altar, vi. 9 sqq. Probably therefore the ἡμᾶς is spurious, as Ewald and Züllig think, and came in by means of later transcribers, who wanted an accusative of the object. The mode of writing without ἡμᾶς, he has redeemed, viz. those who, out of every people, &c., is quite suited to the style of our book; comp. ii. 10, iii. 9, xi. 9.

Verse 10. *And hast made them unto our God, kings and priests;* see on i. 6. Instead of βασιλεῖς, probably βασιλείαν should be read in this place (with Bengel, Gnomon, Ewald, Lachmann, Tischendorf; after A. Copt. Vulg. Cypr. and other Latin Fathers), *and they reign* = shall reign *upon earth*; comp. ii. 26 sqq., iii. 21.

Verse 11. *And I beheld and heard* (= heard in spirit) *the voice of many angels round about the throne,* round the semicircle of the throne, *and the beasts and the elders* (before φωνὴν the Compl. has ὡς, which Ewald supposes to be genuine = videbar mihi audire, in 28 Codd. cursive, Syr. Andr. 1 Areth. Vulg. Cassiod.), *and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands*; after Dan. vii. 10,

"thousands of thousands ministered here, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before them."

Verse 12. *Saying with a loud voice*, the whole choir, as it were, taking up the song of the elders and cherubim, *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.* Precisely seven qualities, though not strictly distinct, are here put together with a certain purpose, as in vii. 12 the same seven appear, only in another order, and εὐχαριστία instead of πλοῦτος, all with reference to God the Father. Here the whole is meant to express the idea that the Lamb is worthy of having all the power and all the honour of the Father consigned to him.

Verse 13. The first ἐστι (after ὅ) and the ἅ before the second ἐστι should probably, according to A. and numerous codd., be expunged, with Lachmann, Tischendorf; in which case the ὅ should be united with the ἔστι, although very distant (after τῆς θαλάσσης). *And every creature which is in heaven and on the earth and under the earth* (in the under-world), *and such as are upon the sea* (can only mean here = ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ; at all events, the putting of ἐπὶ with the genitive shows that they are supposed to be at the bottom or foundation of the sea), *and all that are in them;* the αὐτοῖς here hardly refers, as Grotius thinks, and so Hengstenberg, to the beasts and living creatures in the world, but to heaven, the earth and sea; all the preceding being once more comprehended in the τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα. It originated perhaps in a reminiscence of Ps. cxlvi. 6 which made heaven, and earth, the sea: וְאֵת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּם, although in the πᾶν κτίσμα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ κ. λ. another relation is certainly expressed. Züllig is of opinion that the writer wrote originally: I heard the heavens and the earth and the under-world and the sea, and all which is in them—in these four; but corrected it later as we now read, abolishing the somewhat bold personification, and at the same time forgetting to expunge the last words, *heard I, saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.* Verse 14. Final chorus and Amen:

and the four beasts said, Amen. And the four elders fell down and worshipped (the received text adds, ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, which comes in from iv. 10, and is wanting in A. B. C. 37 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. MS. Andr. Areth., Latin Fathers; omitted by Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, &c.).

Now follows a narrative of the opening of the seals of the book, and its contents, appearing in symbolical pictures.

Ch. vi. 1—8.

Opening of the four first seals, whereupon in succession four horses with riders appear, the horses of different colours, and the riders with different symbols. At the basis of this number four of the horses and their colours, Zech. vi. 2, 3, probably lies, although different meanings are not so prominent there in individual particulars, as here.

(1) Verses 1, 2. *And I saw, when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were, the noise of thunder,* so loud, *one of the four beasts saying, Come (and see).* Compare Ezek. viii. 9. And he said to me, בּוֹא וּרְאֵה, LXX. εἴσελθε καὶ ἴδε. Among later Jews תָּא וַחֲזֵא is a usual formula, as often as there appears in a disputation another who elucidates the subject by his statement, or at the beginning of a new discussion. The text is here, however, very uncertain, and also in verses 3, 5, 7. Lachmann and Tischendorf, have in all four passages merely ἔρχου; and so Griesbach in verse 3; in other passages, ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε; the received text in all four passages is ἔρχου καὶ βλέπε. There are in all four passages important witnesses (A. C., &c.) for the shorter reading, ἔρχου, which De Wette also approves; and probably this is the original one, which the Compl. has (in the two last passages, Bengel also). Most of the witnesses who have added, *and behold,* omit the καὶ εἶδον. Probably καὶ ἴδε arose from the καὶ εἶδον, and out of it καὶ βλέπε.

Verse 2. *And I saw, and behold, a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him, and he went*

forth conquering and to conquer. White horses were reckoned a good omen; generals in battle preferred riding on a white horse; see passages in Wetstein, ad h. l. Thus in xix. 11 below, the Son of Man, when he goes forth to make war against Antichrist, appears upon a white horse. A comparison of this passage makes it not improbable, as also Grotius, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Ebrard and others assume, that the rider, who appears here upon a white horse, does not (as many interpreters think, also Züllig, Lücke, p. 350, De Wette) mean a tormenting spirit, like the three following, a conqueror and destroyer (Züllig explaining the νικᾶν by the Hebrew שָׁדַד), but is rather a symbol of the Messiah marching to victory, so that this very first sign points to the final issue of the impending war between Christ and Antichrist, between the kingdom of God and the powers of the world and darkness. By the participle νικῶν it is intimated that he goes out already as conqueror, and the στέφανος with which he is adorned, refers to that; the καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ points to the farther victories which he is to gain.

(2) Verses 3, 4. *And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come. And there went out another horse, that was fiery-red, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and* (sc. to cause) *that they* (men) *should kill one another*, strangle; *and there was given unto him a great sword.* This is a general symbolical reference to the wars with which the earth should be visited before the future advent of the Lord. The *fiery-red colour* of the horse signifies the blood which was to flow (comp. 2 Kings iii. 22, τὰ ὕδατα πυρρὰ ὡς αἵματα), perhaps also at the same time fire by which everything should be consumed. Instead of the received reading, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, Griesbach has ἐκ. τ. γ., as the Compl. and others; also Lachmann, ed. major, Tischendorf, after B. C. 32 cursive, Andr. Areth. Bengel and Lachmann, ed. min., have entirely expunged the preposition (τὴν εἰρήνην τῆς γῆς, after A. 4 cursive). The γῇ is certainly not to be taken here of *the* (Jewish) *land*, but of the *earth* in general.

(3) Verses 5, 6. *A black horse*, image of sorrow, of misfortune, *and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.* The ζυγὸς is here put in accordance with later usage (properly = whatever unites; particularly, a yoke of oxen, a cross-beam; hence a beam, and also balances themselves). The balance here points to a time of want and dearth, when everything should be weighed out minutely, even corn and the like, which at other times was wont only to be measured; comp. Ezek. iv. 16, "I will break the staff of bread in Jerusalem; and they shall eat bread by weight (בְּמִשְׁקָל), and with care, and they shall drink water by measure, and with astonishment." Lev. xxvi. 26.

Verse 6. *And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say*, can only mean, a voice coming from God himself.

A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny. Great dearth is denoted by this. The χοῖνιξ is a corn measure, containing two sextarii, just as much as was reckoned the usual daily allowance of food for one man; hence in Athenäus, iii. 20, a χοῖνιξ: ἡμεροτρόφος; it is called in Suidas ἡμερόσιος τροφή; comp. also, for example, Herodot. vii. 231; Odyssey, 19, 27, 28, ὅς κεν ἐμῆς γε χοίνικος ἅπτηται = he who is at my expense, so that he receives his daily bread from me; see Böckh, Athen. Staatshaushalt, i. 99. Those who had a stronger appetite could consume a loaf of several χοίνικες. Xenoph. Anab. vii. 3, 12. *A penny*, about one-fifth of a thaler (sevenpence halfpenny), was the wage which a workman received for a day's work, and the usual daily pay of a Roman soldier; comp. Matt. xx. 9 sqq.; Tacit. Ann. i. 1. But it serves as a proof of great dearth when a male workman could only earn as much as the loaf costs, what merely suffices for his personal subsistence. In Sicily, at the time of Cicero, a denarius was the price of a Roman bushel of wheat, containing twelve chœnixes (Cic. Verr. iii. 81); and a bushel of barley cost, according to ib., half a denarius, so that it is eight times as dear when the denarius is here given as the price of three chœnixes of barley. Therefore there was also a want of this inferior sort of grain,

which only the lower and poorer classes put in bread, and of which a portion was accustomed to be given to the Roman soldiers, by way of punishment, instead of wheat (see Winer R. W. B.). On the contrary, it is said, *and* = yet, *the oil and the wine thou shalt not hurt.* The rider on the black horse is addressed, who is the executor of the divine torments. Upon ἀδικεῖν, comp. ii. 11, and especially ix. 4. The sense can only be, that there will be no dearth of such objects as belong more to luxury, but are worthless amid the want of necessary bread, causing that very want to be felt the more bitterly.

(4) Verses 7, 8. *And I looked, and behold a pale horse;* so χλωρὸς is to be taken here, *pale yellow*, pale; it is taken not merely for *green, grass green*, but also for the colour of gold, of the sick, of a corpse, and frequently for an epithet of fear (χλωρὸν δέος).

And his name that sat on him was death, and hades followed him, was in his company (ἀκολουθεῖν sc. μετά τινος, also xiv. 13, and among the Attics), as he to whom death hands over his prey; for both ὁ θάνατος and ὁ ᾅδης are united, as also i. 18, xx. 13, 14. Here death, together with hades, is personified as the rider of the horse and executor of the Divine will in slaying a great part of men upon the earth.

And to him (the received text has αὐτοῖς, and so Lachmann; for it the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Tischendorf, al. (approved by Vitringa); αὐτῷ according to B., over 30 cursive, Syr. Ar. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Areth. Prim; the plural would refer to death and hades, the singular to death as the chief person; the latter has greater internal probability) *was given power over the fourth part of the earth, to kill* (men) *with sword, hunger, plague, and by the beasts of the earth* = the wild beasts. This plague unites not merely those of the two preceding seals, war and famine, but increases them to the highest degree, so that many men are carried off; and it adds to them besides, desolation by plague and wild beasts. Old Testament passages lie at the basis of these four combined deadly plagues, such as Ezek. xiv. 21, "When I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword

and the famine and the noisome beast and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast," &c. Ib. v. 17; Lev. xxvi. 21—26, &c. Moreover θάνατος, the second time, is decidedly meant of plague, upon which see at ii. 23; the first time, ὁ θάνατος has a more general sense; ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων instead of διά.

As to the plagues here announced generally, in their relation to the appearing of the Lord and to the fulfilment of God's kingdom, see general Introduction. The contents of these three seals are, as it were, the carrying out of the Lord's intimation, Matt. xxiv. 7, ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπι ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπι βσαιλείαν, καὶ ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί.

Verses 9—11.

Opening of the fifth seal, reference to the bloody persecutions to be inflicted on the followers of the Lord by the world; many of them have already perished on account of their confession, but the same fate is impending over many others until the advent of the Lord. This thought is here conveyed by introducing the souls of the martyrs who had gone before, who impatiently ask when God will take judgment for their blood from the inhabitants of the earth, and by the answers they receive.

Verse 9. *And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held;* comp. for the latter, xii. 17, τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ; xix. 10, τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Here also is found a reading, τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ ἀρνίου ἣν εἶχον, B. 30 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Andr. ii. Areth. and so Compl. Yet an insertion seems more likely than an omission; and it is probably a later gloss. Compare besides xx. 4, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπεκελισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. The μαρτυρία is the testimony which they were commissioned by Jesus to bear to him, and of which it might be said they had it. It is therefore not necessary, with several, to give ἔχειν the signification of κρατεῖν, *to*

hold fast; although that idea belongs to the connection. By the altar, we should most probably understand the altar in heaven mentioned in viii. 3, ix. 13, where the seer found himself in the spirit; not of the altar of burnt sacrifices, as Grotius, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Bengel, Züllig, think; the incense-altar in heaven, as Victorin and De Wette suppose, which was considered the prototype of the earthly, just as the temple of God in heaven was viewed as the prototype of the one in Jerusalem; comp. xv. 5, Wisdom ix. 8. Sheol, the under-world, is elsewhere described as the residence of the souls of the dead. Yet, according to later Jewish theology, the souls of the just have their place under the throne of God, in his immediate presence; for example, Tr. Schabbath, fol. 152, 2, animæ justorum sunt sub throno gloriæ. Tharg. ad 1 Chron. xxi. 15, recordatus est domus sanctuarii supernæ, ubi sunt animæ justorum, &c.; see Wetstein and Schöttgen, ad h. l. So the souls of the Christian martyrs now appear in heaven, close to God, beneath or at the foot of the altar, so that if the altar of burnt incense be meant, as many conceive, it could not mean that they offered themselves as a sacrifice to God. To express this thought, one would rather expect them to be seen *upon* the altar than *under* it. Much rather does the residence of these souls under the incense-altar imply, besides the general thought of abiding in heaven near God, that, as De Wette rightly interprets, they expect, wait for, their prayers to be heard, prayers symbolized by the sacrificial incense; comp. viii. 3 and on v. 8. It is certainly false and not agreeable to the meaning of the book when Hengstenberg understands by the ψυχαῖς here, not the immortal souls which continue to live after death until the resurrection, but the murdered animal souls which, according to Gen. ix. 5, are in the blood; so that instead of souls, blood might just as well have been put. Ebrard rightly declares himself against such an opinion.

Verse 10. *And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on*

them that dwell on the earth? How long will it still be until thou holdest this judgment against the world on account of the bloody persecutions which they have inflicted on us, the confessors of thy word? The inhabitants of the earth are here, from the connection = ὁ κόσμος, the mass hostile to the kingdom of God; οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς = οὐ κρίνων ἐκδικεῖς.

Verse 11. *And white robes were given unto every one of them,* evidently as a sign of justification before God, that they might stand there pure before him although he had given them up to death. Instead of the received reading, ἑκάστοις, for which Griesbach has αὐτοῖς (according to B. 17 cursive, &c.), as also the Compl., Tischendorf, αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ should probably be read, with Bengel, Lachmann, Ewald, &c. (according to A. C. 19 cursive); comp. v. 8, xx. 13.

And it was said unto them, commanded, *that they should still rest for a little season,* quietly persevere, without impatient urging such as had manifested itself in that question. μικρὸν is omitted by Griesbach, Tischendorf, and by the Compl., Bengel, according to B. 36 cursive, Ar. Pol. Aeth. Areth. Yet it may probably be genuine, since the omission by later transcribers is more easily explained than the insertion.

Until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed like them, as well as they, *should be fulfilled.* The received text has πληρώσονται, and so Ewald at one time. For it, Griesbach and Tischendorf have πληρῶσωσι, B. 40 cursive, Andr.; Lachmann, like the Compl., Bengel, &c., πληρωθῶσι, A. cursive MSS., Syr. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. The verb cannot mean the completion of the number of the Christian martyrs, as many interpreters take it, for then the martyrs must have been named as subject, not, as is the case, the companions of those already slain, who should be slain also; but probably the completion of the earthly course of individual ones. In that case the active, πληρώσωσι, has most internal probability = until they shall have finished, namely, their course upon earth which God the Lord has put upon them.

Verses 12—17.

Opening of the sixth seal, at which great natural phenomena appear, such as accompany or announce the day of the Lord in the descriptions of the Old Testament prophets; for example, Joel iii. 3, 4, &c.; comp. Matt. xxiv. 7, 29.

Verse 12. *And I beheld, when he had opened the sixth seal, and there was a great earthquake* (comp. Matt. l. c., Is. xxiv. 18, 19), *and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair;* persons were accustomed to wrap themselves in mourning in such material of a dark black colour; so the sun appears here whilst it is darkened; comp. Joel ii. 10, "The sun and the moon shall be dark," (קָדְרוּ of clouds of locusts); *and the moon became quite like blood;* it appeared, at the darkening of the sun, so much the brighter, with blood-red appearance; comp. Joel ii. 31, "The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood."

Verse 13. *And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind* (ὄλυνθος = grossus, of unripe figs); comp. Is. xxxiv. 4, "And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll: and all their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vines and as a falling fig from the fig tree." Matt. xxiv. 29, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. For the simile of the falling off of unripe figs, see Nah. iii. 12.

Verse 14. *And the heaven*—which is often compared to an outstretched tent-cloth—*departed as a scroll when it is rolled together;* see Is. l. c. (54:2?)

And every mountain and island were moved out of their places. Still more strongly it is said in xvi. 20, καὶ πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγε καὶ ὄρη οὐχ εὑρέθησαν.

Verses 15—17. Description of the terror of men at these powerful phenomena: *And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every freeman* (seven ideas, although logically not very different, are here again put together, evidently intentionally), *hid themselves in the dens and rocks* = crevices of the

rocks (comp. Is. ii. 10) *of the mountains;* comp. Is. ii. 19, "And they shall go into the holes of the rocks and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth." Verse 16. *And they say to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb;* according to Hosea x. 8, "And they shall say to the mountains, Cover us; and to the hills, Fall on us;" comp. Luke xxiii. 30 (according to Hos., LXX.), τότε ἄρξονται λέγειν τοῖς ὄρεσι· πέσετε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς· καλύψατε ἡμᾶς. Grotius remarks rightly that the seer puts into the mouth of the men of the earth his descriptions of God and the Messiah, which are intelligible from the foregoing. Verse 17. *For the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?* They shall then acknowledge that. Comp. Nah. i. 6, לִפְנֵי זַעְמוֹ מִי יַעֲמֹוד וּמִי יָקוּם בְּחֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ. Mal. iii. 2.

Ch. vii.

Before the last seal is opened, there appears an interlude, the sealing of the servants of God on their foreheads with the divine seal, whereby they are marked as belonging to God, and made known as persons who should be spared from the plagues still to come, closed with the seventh seal, in the same manner as in Egypt the houses of the members of the covenant, by being marked with blood, were distinguished as those which the destroying angel should pass over. Exod. xii. 12 sqq.; comp. also Ezek. ix. 4 sqq., according to which all the pious in Jerusalem are furnished with a mark on the forehead (ת) by an angel passing through the city, and thereby pointed out to the destroying angels as those whom they were to spare.

Verse 1. *And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.* It is incorrect when Herder and Eichhorn take this as an intimation of deadly heat and sultriness. From verses 2, 3, it follows that the breaking out of the winds is supposed to

bring great destruction upon the earth; so that holding them fast or keeping them back signifies that they should not exercise their destroying action upon the earth for a while. The four γωνίαι of the earth are the four extreme points of it, towards the four quarters of heaven, as the earth was probably thought to be a four-cornered surface. The four extreme points were supposed to be, as it were, the resting-places of the four chief winds, whence they break out and spread themselves over the surface of the earth; comp. Jer. xlix. 36, "And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven" (מֵאַרְבַּע קְצוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם); Dan. vii. 2; Zech. vi. 5.

Verse 3. *And I saw another angel descending from the east,* denoting here not so much the eastern quarter of the heavens (as xvi. 12, xxi. 13), as the height from which he descended to the earth.

Having the seal of the living God; and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given (the power and the charge) *to hurt the earth and the sea* (by letting loose the four winds), verse 3, *saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads,* have marked with the seal of God. Among the ancients, especially the Easterns, it was not unusual to brand the slave with the mark of his master upon the forehead or right hand; and so, according to Herodot. ii. 113, the worshippers of a deity were wont to brand themselves with his name. The servants of the true living God are designated as such by the stamp of the divine seal upon their forehead; and according to xiv. 1, we must probably suppose the name of God and of the Lamb engraved; so that doubtless only Christians can be meant here, not, as Heinrichs thinks, pious Jews as such, without any regard to whether they believed in Christ or not.

Verse 4. *And I heard the number of them which were sealed,* of those who were found servants of God, and were accordingly marked with the divine seal, namely = 144,000 *sealed of all the tribes of the children of Israel*; the ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς should be taken,

as what follows clearly shows, to indicate that the whole number of those sealed out of all the tribes of Israel consisted of so much, 12,000 out of each of the twelve tribes, as is described particularly in verses 5—8. The ἐσφραγισμένοι is probably spurious (the ten middle occurrences of it); omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, the Compl., &c., according to A. B. C. and more than 30 cursive, Syr. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. Prim.; the first and last time only is it probably genuine. The seer hears these numbers merely uttered by an angel, as the result of the sealing already implied as past, since they were too many for himself to count. This section presents some difficulty in various respects. In the first place, as to the numbering and designation of the twelve tribes themselves. The tribes of the people of Israel proceeded, as is well known, and were named from the twelve sons of Jacob. As the posterity of Joseph separated into two tribes, called Ephraim and Manasseh, from the two sons adopted by Jacob, there were properly thirteen tribes. It remained, however, the prevalent custom to state the number as twelve. Then the tribe of Levi, which as that of the priests was divided among the others and had no peculiar connected possession, was not included among them when the possessions of the tribes were spoken of; but when it was included, either Ephraim and Manasseh were reckoned one tribe, as Joseph; or another was omitted. So Simeon is omitted in Deut. xxxiii.; and here the tribe of Dan. But in verse 6 the tribe of Manasseh is also named, and not the tribe of Ephraim, but (verse 8) that of Joseph. Here a mistake in the text has been suspected; instead of Manasseh to read Dan, supposing a transcriber read Μαν instead of Δαν, viewing it as a contraction for Μανασσῆ, and writing the latter for it; so Gomar, also Hartwig, ii. 227 sqq. and Züllig. Ewald (Jahrb. d. bibl. W. VIII. 1856, pp. 98 sqq.) says, it appears to be an original mistake (of the primitive document) for Δᾶν. Yet Irenæus, Orig., Andreas and Arethas, read Manasseh, and expressly state that Dan is omitted. After the exile the division of the people of Israel into tribes properly

ceased; the members of the ten tribes, as a whole at least, never returned to their native land; and except the tribes of Judah and Levi, only a few families preserved the registers of their tribe and race with any certainty. At that time, at least, the old division into tribes no longer possessed the interest which it formerly had; and although it was maintained in general that the people of Israel consisted of twelve tribes, mistakes might easily arise in numbering of them. As to the tribe of Dan, the opinion appears to have prevailed among the Jews that, on account of the worship of idols (Jud. xviii.) carried on in it at an early period, it had died out, even at a remote time, down to the family Hussim, and that even the latter had perished by war before the time of Ezra, or was reduced to so low a number that it could no longer be reckoned with the rest. In 1 Chron. ii. sqq., the posterity of Dan, as well as Zebulon's, are not represented in the registers of the separate tribes. Some interpreters, as Bengel and Eichhorn, suppose that a peculiar cabbalistic signification lies here in Manasseh, the name מְנַשֶּׁה being etymologically = oblivioni tradens, alluding to the extinct Dan. Yet the writer hardly thought of that. But it always appears an inaccuracy that *Manasseh* is represented as a special tribe, and Joseph a special tribe also, although the posterity of Joseph comprehends the Manassites as much as the Ephraimites. Yet Ephraim was always considered the chief tribe of the two that originated in the sons of Joseph; for Ephraim, as elsewhere Joseph, often stands for the entire kingdom of the ten tribes; and so this chief tribe might be called Joseph, even in contrast with Manasseh. But there is still the question, how we are to conceive the 144,000 out of the different tribes of Israel, in relation to the whole number of the people of God, and the innumerable company out of all nations, of which the seer (verses 9—17) says, that he beheld them standing before the throne of God, having come out of great tribulation, and washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb, now living under God's immediate protection and under the guidance of the Lamb, free from

want and affliction. According to the description and relation of the two sections (verses 4—8 and verses 9—17), it appears most natural to understand by the 144,000 the followers of the Lord from among the people of Israel; and those denoted in verse 9 sqq., similar ones out of all the different nations of the earth. What appears to be against this is, that in xiv. 1, 144,000 are also mentioned as having the name of the Lamb and of the Father written on their foreheads, which refers doubtless to the mark with the seal of God introduced here; but there they appear as the entire company of believers stated in round numbers, those who are ἠγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (verse 3), ἠγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ (verse 4). This mode of designation gives us reason to believe that they are not, as Credner Einl. i. p. 711, Anm. and Züllig, also Baur in his treatise on the Gospel of John in Zeller's Theol. Jahrb. 1844, H. 4, pp. 662 sqq., assumed, Jewish Christians merely, but the entire number of believers, even those from among the heathen, especially if we compare v. 9, ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ . . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους. Accordingly we might be inclined to assume that the 144,000 represented here (verses 4—8), mean in like manner a round symbolical number, all the true followers of the Lord; and that the individual tribes do not mean tribes of the people of Israel, out of each of which 12,000 would enter into the kingdom of God, but divisions in the kingdom of God itself, appellations for its separate portions, transferred from the ancient covenant people to the people of God in the New Testament. It would not appear unsuitable also to the entire character of our book, that, like the Jewish people in general, the twelve tribes should be viewed as the proper kernel and stem of the Messianic people; the converts out of other nations being merely received into these tribes. For this one might also compare Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30. We might then ask, how we are to picture the innumerable company out of all nations (verse 9 sqq.) in itself, and in its relation to these 144,000. Most interpreters, with Ewald,

understand by it, deceased believers, Christian martyrs, those of whom it is said in the call to such as were perfected earlier (vi. 11), that they, too, must finish their course and be killed, until the time of divine wrath come for the persecutors of Christianity in general. Yet there is really nothing in what is asserted of them to point them out expressly as slain martyrs. Rather are we induced, when it is said (verse 14) they are οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, with Vitringa, to explain this by the analogy of iii. 10, where it is said in the Philadelphian Epistles, κἀγώ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης, πειράσαι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and to understand those who shall be preserved, unhurt by the great affliction which will precede the coming of the Lord; just like those 144,000 marked with the seal of God. Accordingly, we are inclined to think that the innumerable company out of all nations standing before the throne of God, according to verse 9 sqq., is identical with those 144,000 (verses 4—8) divided among the twelve tribes of God's people. In this manner I took it, Abhandlung, pp. 258 sqq. So also De Wette, &c. Yet the assumption now appears to me very unlikely. For (*a*) it would not be likely that after the number of those sealed (verses 4—8) is expressly stated to be 144,000, the same (verse 9) should be designated immediately afterwards as a multitude that no man can number; then (*b*) what pronounces against this conception of the 144,000 in general is, that they are expressly described as sealed *out of* all the tribes of the children of Israel. This would always be unnatural if it meant that such was the whole number of the members of these tribes, and not that they were sealed as believers out of the entire number of the members of the tribes; in which case, believers from among the Jews only, not those from among the heathen, could be reckoned. But one may doubt whether the innumerable company mentioned (verse 9 sqq.) out of all nations, means merely heathen Christians; or whether the 144,000 out of the tribes of Israel are comprehended in it. The latter is the more probable. Hence in verse 3 we

may understand the servants of God who are to be sealed of believing followers of the Lord in general, both those from among the Jews who form the stem, as well as those from among the heathen, who attach themselves to the former. We are to suppose them all marked with the seal of God, and standing before the throne, although the number of the former only is stated. But then it cannot be denied that such representation differs from that in xiv. 1 sqq., in that the same number here specified for those sealed out of the children of Israel, is there given as the entire number of such as have the name of God and the Lamb on their foreheads; the entire company of those redeemed from the earth. Neander, Apostol. Zeitalter, Thl. ii. (3rd ed. p. 543 Anm.), also perceived this difficulty; and I do not believe that it can be solved, except by allowing a certain inconsequence in the descriptions of the book, not of much importance however, since the number is not meant literally, but is only a round symbolical one; comp. my Beitr. z. Evang. Krit. (1846), pp. 185—188.

Verse 9. *After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues* (comp. v. 9), *stood before the throne (of God) and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes,* as a sign of purity pleasing to God, *and palms in their hands,* probably as a sign of the victory obtained over the world and evil.

Verse 10. *And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb;* it belongs, as it were, to them, from them alone it proceeds. So most probably should it be taken; comp. xix. 1.

Verse 11. Compare v. 11.

Verse 12. And said, *Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and might is due unto our God* (seven nouns beside one another, as in v. 12; comp. ib. verse 14) *to all eternity* (Amen! is wanting C. 2 cursive, Andr. Prim. and others; omitted by Lachmann and Tischendorf).

Verse 13. *And one of the elders began* (ἀπεκρίθη, properly an-

swered = said with reference to the preceding speeches, or to the thoughts of the seer) *and said to me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?* comp. Jos. ix. 8, Jon. i. 8. For the entire dramatic envelope comp. Zech. iv. 4, 5.

Verse 14. *And I said unto him, My Lord* (μου after κύριε, adopted by Griesbach after C. 34 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Vulg. Andr. Areth. Cypr., and so Compl., Bengel, &c.), *thou knowest it; and he said to me, These are they which come out of great tribulation* (see above), *and they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb;* comp. at iii. 4 (Sardis) οἳ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν. The meaning is, they stand justified and pure before God through belief in Christ and his expiatory death. The meaning is hardly, as Ewald thinks, that they cleansed themselves by death suffered *for the sake of Christ* and after his example.

Verse 15. *Therefore are they before the throne of God,* there they have their place as his servants.

And serve him day and night in his temple, as his priests; he vouchsafes to accept them as his priests; this is what is meant to be expressed.

And he that sitteth on the throne will dwell over them, will erect his tent wherein he is enthroned, over them, so that they are screened by it. (Somewhat differently in xxi. 3, σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν.)

Verse 16. *They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.* Copied from Is. xlix. 10, "They shall not hunger nor thirst, neither shall the heat nor sun smite (יַכֶּם) them; for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them."

Verse 17. *For the Lamb in the midst of the throne shall feed them and lead them to the living fountains of waters* (the received text has ζώσας; for it, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, as Compl., Bengel, &c. have ζωῆς, according to A. B. 34 cursive, Areth. Andr. Vulg. Areth., Latin Fathers. That is to be taken = ζώσας, or, at

any rate, to the water springs of life), *and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes;* after Is. xxv. 8, "He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."

Ch. viii.

Now follows the opening of the seventh seal; the last, by which the book of the future, or rather its last part, was kept shut. Yet its contents are too comprehensive and powerful to appear immediately and at once. It is said, first,

Verse 1,

And when he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven, ὡς ἡμιώριον (Lachmann, Tischendorf, ὡς ἡμίωρον, according to A. C.) *about the space of half an hour.* This does not denote a very short time, as Heinrichs thinks, but rather a considerable pause which entered into the course of the visions introducing the future and following in rapid succession, during which everything in heaven silently waits for the appearing of the remaining contents of the book. By such description the expectation of the readers is stretched toward it still more. This is doubtless the object of the σιγὴ in heaven, which is not, as Eichhorn supposes, to be compared with vii. 3, nor (with Grotius) to be understood of a complete calm, nor even, as Hengstenberg thinks, of the stilling of the rebellion of the Lord's enemies. Then it is said farther,

Verse 2,

And I saw the seven angels which stand before God, the seven chief angels or archangels according to a post-exile idea, probably borrowed in this form, particularly as to the number seven, from Parsism. The definite number seven is found already in Tob. xii. 15, ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαὴλ, εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, οἱ προσαναφέρουσι τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου. Dan. x. 13, הַשָּׂרִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים.

And to them were given seven trumpets; afterwards they sound

these in succession, and each time a portion of the remaining contents of the book comes to light. 1 Thess. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52, should be compared with this description, according to which the appearing of the Lord with the waking up and assembling of believers will take place at the last trumpet, at the call of the archangel; comp. also Matt. xxiv. 31. But before these seven angels sound their trumpets there appears again,

Verses 3—5,

a symbolical interlude, intimating that the prayers of the saints, in which they express their longing for the appearing of the Lord and his judgment, come before God and are about to be fulfilled. Yet the description and stricter apprehension of this present some difficulty.

Verse 3. *And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer* (λιβάνωτος is here and verse 5 manifestly = *censer;* elsewhere (LXX., Josephus and among later Greeks) = incense).

And there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. The golden θυσιαστήριον in the temple at Jerusalem was the golden altar of incense which stood in the sanctuary immediately before the curtain that separated the holy from the holy of holies, behind which the ark of the covenant stood as the seat of Jehovah's majesty; therefore this altar of incense is described as standing before Jehovah (Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 12, 18). Here the altar of incense in the heavenly temple (twice, which Ebrard wrongly denies, taking the first θυσιαστήριον to mean, altar of burnt sacrifice) is to be taken as the type of that earthly one upon which the angel offers the incense, in order to denote the reaching of the prayers of the saints to the Heavenly Father. The dative ταῖς προσευχαῖς can only be taken as a dat. commod., and must mean that he offered it *for the prayers* of the saints, dedicated it as it were, to bring them to God and to make them the more pleasing to him; comp. v. 8, where it is said of the incense in the golden vials of the cherubim and priests, that

it is the prayers of the saints; they are symbolized by it; see ad. h. l. It is linguistically inadmissible to take it, with Beza and Eichhorn, = ἐν προσευχαῖς, *at* or *with* the prayers of the saints. There is as little ground, with Castellio, Grotius, Heinrichs, for changing the text and reading τὰς προσευχὰς, that he might offer these prayers on the altar; which would not at all be natural. Schöttgen holds the words ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων, both here and in verse 4, to be a later gloss, which is certainly false.

Verse 4. *And the smoke of the incense ascended out of the hand of the angel, for the prayers of the saints, before God;* bringing them before God; ταῖς προσευχαῖς is here also dat. commod., but the ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ should probably be united with the verb ἀνέβη, not with τοῦ ἀγγέλου (the angel standing before God).

Verse 5. *And the angel took the censer and filled it with the fire of the altar* (altar of incense) *and cast it on the earth; and there arose voices and thunders and lightnings and earthquakes.* The proper interpretation of this act is not quite clear. Most probably the fire cast down upon the earth denotes the divine judgment impending over its inhabitants, as in Ezek. x. 2 sqq. Jehovah commands an angel to fill both hands full of burning coals, and to scatter them over the city as a symbol of its imminent destruction. But perhaps the circumstance that this fire is taken from the altar of sacrifice, where the incense is offered for the prayers of the saints, signifies at the same time, that these prayers are heard through the divine judgment; the divine judgment refers to them.

Verse 6.

And the seven angels which hold the seven trumpets prepared themselves to blow them.

Verses 7—12.

A description of what appears at the sounding of the trumpets of the first four angels. Powerful natural phenomena happen in succession; at the first trumpet, on the earth; at the second, on the sea; at the third, on the rivers and fountains; at the

fourth, on sun, moon and stars; so that each time a third part is destroyed. The descriptions are of a kind that cannot be meant literally, since they cannot be shaped into intuitive ideas. But it is also inadmissible to refer them, as many earlier interpreters do, to single political or other events and catastrophes happening upon earth, either at the time of the writing, so that the seer must have had them already before his eyes, or occurring later, so that these visions were fulfilled in them. Rather should we view the contents of these visions as a general poetical representation of the great revolutions of nature connected with the appearing of the Lord or preceding it; in which Old Testament images, taken particularly from the narrative of the Egyptian plagues, lie at the foundation, and particulars should not be specially urged.

(1) Verse 7. *And the first sounded, and there arose hail and fire mingled with blood, and was cast upon the earth, and it burnt up the third part of the earth, and burnt up the third part of the trees, and all green grass,* namely, of the third part of the earth. The words, καὶ τὸ τριτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη, are wanting in the received text, but the Compl., &c., have them; and Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have rightly received them again, after A. B. 40 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Andr. Areth. Prim. The omission was caused by the Homoioteleuton. Here Exod. ix. 23—25 lies at the foundation, where Jehovah causes mingled fire and hail to rain violently upon the land of Egypt, striking everything; men, cattle, and the herb of the field, and all trees are crushed. The image is here intesified, for to the fire and hail, blood is added, so that the effect is heightened.

(2) Verses 8, 9. *And the second angel sounded, and, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea.* The ὡς indicates, that what was precipitated into the sea looked like a great burning mountain, like a volcano, without actually being such.

And the third part of the sea became blood. Verse 9. *And the*

third part of the living creatures in the sea died (τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς), an apposition to τῶν κτισμάτων κ. λ.

And the third part of the ships were destroyed. Instead of διεφθάρη, probably διεφθάρησαν should be read, with Compl., Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Ewald and De Wette, according to A. 8 cursive, Andr. This is an exaggerated imitation of Exod. vii. 20 sqq., where the water of the Nile was turned into blood by the rod of Aaron, so that all the fishes in it died. In specifying *the burning mountain*, perhaps (so Vitringa) Jer. li. 25 also occurred to the seer, where Babylon is called a destroying mountain, which Jehovah will precipitate from the rock, and make into a *burning* mountain (לְהַר שְׂרֵפָה) = burn it in fire.

(3) Verses 10, 11. *And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of water.* Verse 11. *And the name of the star is called Wormwood, and the third part of the waters became wormwood, and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.* Before ἄψινθος, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, as the Compl., Bengel, &c., have received the article ὁ, which the received text wants; after A. 25 cursive, Areth. The omission was occasioned by this, viz., that ἄψινθος is elsewhere feminine (also τὸ ἀψίνθιον); the writer treated it as if it were masculine, as the name of the star (ὁ ἀστήρ). He describes the bitter and bitter-making quality of the star, to which the idea of poison attaches, since wormwood (in Hebrew לַעֲנָה) was considered a poisonous herb; לַעֲנָה is frequently named in connection with רֹאשׁ, רוֹשׁ; comp. Jer. ix. 14, xxiii. 15, "Behold, I will feed them, even this people, with wormwood (לַעֲנָה), and give them water of gall (מֵי רֹאשׁ) to drink." So the bitterness of the water here includes its poisonous quality also. Probably (in addition to that Egyptian plague) Exod. xv. 23 lies at the foundation, where the water of Marah is bitter, and therefore not drinkable; which again is much intensified.

(4) Verse 12. *And the fourth angel sounded; then was smitten*

(that is, with a divine plague, πληγή, as in Hebrew הַמַּכָּה) *the third part of the sun, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them* (the pronoun αὐτῶν refers to sun, moon and stars in common) *was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.* At the foundation of this lies the narrative in Exod. x. 21—23, of the thick darkness which Jehovah brought for three days over the land of Egypt, while all the Israelites had light in their dwellings. What is meant by the darkening of the third part of the celestial bodies is not quite clear. Most probably they lightened a third part less clearly than with their usual light. So also the not shining of the third part of the day and of the night is to be taken. It was a third part less clear than usual in the daytime and in the night. Conversely it is said (Is. xxx. 26), that when Jehovah shall heal the wounds inflicted upon his people, "the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days." Yet it is also possible that, as De Wette, Hengstenberg, Ebrard assume, a third of duration is meant.

Verse 13.

Preparation for the three remaining trumpets by means of a heavenly voice, which pronounces on the earth a threefold woe coming upon it.

And I beheld, and heard an eagle flying through the midst of heaven, crying with a loud voice. ἑνὸς instead of τινος, as v. 5, and as in later Hebraism אֶחָד; but it denotes more definitely that it was a single one. The received text has ἀγγέλου, which is firmly held by Züllig, but is certainly a later emendation or gloss, instead of the genuine ἀετοῦ, which Compl., Bengel, have; and so Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., according to A.B. 26 cursive, Vulg. Syr. Copt. Aeth. Areth. &c. This is undoubtedly meant of an angel who flew in the form of an eagle; ἐν μεσουρανήματι is also found in xiv. 6, xix. 17; it does not denote,

as Grotius thinks, the place midway between heaven and earth, but, according to the proper usage of language, the region of heaven where the sun has its position at mid-day (so the verb μεσουρανέω occurs of the sun at mid-day). Here it signifies a standpoint where it could be seen by all.

Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabiters of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpets of the three angels which are yet to sound. The ἀπὸ indicates the efficient cause of the woe, as in Matt. xviii. 7, οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων. On the κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, see vi. 10. The three-fold repetition of the woe is, as the continuation shows, not without significance, meaning that three woes actually come at the still remaining trumpets; at each trumpet a woe; see ix. 12, xi. 14.

Ch. ix. 1—12.

Fifth trumpet-sound = first woe, consisting of the plague of a fearful swarm of locusts ascending up out of the pit, to torment for a long time in the most violent manner those men who are not marked with the seal of God. It has been already remarked in the general Introduction that the plague of locusts of the book of Joel, which was exceedingly destructive to the land of the covenant people at the time of this prophet, with which were connected Messianic promises, particularly those relating to the general outpouring of the Holy Ghost, lies at the foundation of this description; but the plague is very much exaggerated here. Natural locusts are not spoken of, but a supernatural plague. It is also false when Eichhorn, Herder, &c., incline to refer it to the Jewish zealots; or Wetstein, to the devastations of the Roman army; or other interpreters, to some other devastating army, or a definite plague of men generally. Perhaps also, besides Joel, the plague of locusts in Egypt, Exod. x. 12—15, may have floated before the mind of the writer.

Verse 1. *And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.* Verse 2. *And he opened the bottomless pit;* ἡ ἄβυσσος (pro-

perly an adjective, bottomless, from ἀ and βύσσος = βύθος) is used substantively in the Hellenistic dialect for תְּהוֹם, partly relating to the depth of the sea, partly, as here, to the bottomless pit under the earth, which is supposed to be the deeper the farther it extends. Hence it is described as φρέαρ, which is properly a cistern. This under-ground is specially ἡ ἄβυσσος, particularly in our book, as it is supposed to be the habitation of wicked, destructive, and demoniacal beings (τὸ τῶν δαιμονίων διαίτημα, Gregory of Nyssus, xi. 7, xvii. 8); and Satan, that he may not disturb the Messianic rest for a thousand years, is bound during that time, and thrown into the abyss (xx. 1—3); comp. Luke viii. 31. So there come forth out of the pit swarms of locusts, forming the subject of what follows, which we are to conceive of as diabolical creatures bringing destruction. In describing them, the locusts of Joel only form a substratum. As to the opening of the pit by a star falling down, one might suppose that this was brought about by the fall of the star upon the earth. But the description here, compared with xx. 1, leads to the conclusion that an angel descending from heaven is meant by the star.

And there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. It is false, when Eichhorn, Züllig, &c., take this as if the locusts themselves coming forth out of the pit appeared in the distance like a thick smoke. The smoke goes before them, as if breaking forth out of the pit, like the opening of a cavity long closed, signifying the destruction which is still farther to come. For the simile, see Gen. xix. 28, according to which smoke ascends (out of the earth) like the smoke of an oven at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Verse 3. *And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power* = such power as locusts do not otherwise possess, at all events only scorpions; for whilst natural locusts are destructive to the field and grass, these attack even men and torment them exceedingly. The σκορπίοι τῆῃ γῆς do not mean, as many think,

land-scorpions in contrast with sea-scorpions, but scorpions of the earth = as they are accustomed to be on the earth; and in the East they are much more dangerous than in Europe, in Italy; see Winer, R. L., under Scorpion.

Verse 4. *And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only* (εἰ μή) *those men which have not the seal of God on their foreheads;* who are not specified as servants of God, but appear as belonging to the world, in opposition to the kingdom of God.

Verse 5. *And to them it was given* (power and a charge; comp. vi. 4, ib. 8, with ἐξουσία), *that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months* = that they should continue to torment them so long without killing them. The five months serve as a round number (like the ten days, ii. 10) to denote a considerable period of time for such a plague, and are probably chosen in reference to the duration of summer, during which locusts, particularly scorpions, are destructive and dangerous. Züllig is of opinion that a sort of flood-plague is meant by the five months, since the waters of the flood, according to Gen. vii. 24, remained upon the earth for 150 days = five months, and those waters also came forth partly out of the great deep, in the same manner as the locusts here, at the opening of the windows of heaven (אַרֻבֹּת) to which אַרְבֶּה locust alludes. Yet that is too far-fetched to render it probable that the writer thought of it.

And their torment (pain), that caused by them, *was as the torment of a scorpion when it striketh a man,* with its sting, which is very painful, and in the East even dangerous.

Verse 6. *And in those days shall men seek death and shall not find it; and shall desire to die and death shall flee from them.* So much will they be tormented with pain; comp. Job iii. 20 sqq., "Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery and life unto the bitter in soul? which long for death, but it cometh not; and dig for it more than for hid treasures; which rejoice exceedingly and are glad when they can find the grave?" Moreover, in this

verse, the form of description, viz. intuition in vision, is abandoned, though prevailing in the book generally, in the immediately preceding verses and again in those immediately following, and the form of *prediction* is chosen, in accordance with which the verbs are made future. In the same manner, xiii. 8, xx. 7 sqq. Here we find also quite poetical language, with the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, so that what Heinrichs supposes is possible, viz. that it was taken from some poetical fragment now lost.

Verse 7. *And the shapes of the locusts were like* = the locusts resembled in form, *unto horses prepared for battle;* comp. Joel ii. 4, כְּמַרְאֵה סוּסִים מַרְאֵהוּ. According to Niebuhr's description of Arabia, it is a common proverb among the Arabs that locusts are similar in head to the horse, in breast to the lion, in feet to the camel, in body to the snake, in tail to the scorpion, in feelers to the hair of a maiden.

And on their heads (were) *as it were crowns like gold.* This belongs to the exaggerated delineation of these supernatural locusts. The feelers of common locusts, about three-quarters of an inch long, may have suggested these crowns.

And their faces were as the faces of men. From this one might wrongly conclude that actual men were meant.

Verse 8. *And they had hair as the hair of women,* as long, and hanging down, giving to their face a wilder, more frightful appearance.

And their teeth were as the teeth of lions, crushing everything. Joel i. 6, שִׁנָּיו שִׁנֵּי אַרְיֵה וּמְתַלְעוֹת לָבִיא לוֹ. Pliny, H. N. ii. 29, morsu omnia erodunt, et fores quoque tectorum.

Verse 9. *And they had breast-plates, as it were, breast-plates of iron;* so that they are difficult to wound or to kill; comp. Joel ii. 8, "Neither shall one thrust another; they shall walk every one in his path." The comparison has in view the green breasts of natural locusts heightened in the middle, and attaches itself to that.

And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots with

many horses running to battle; comp. Joel. ii. 5, "Like the noise of chariots, on the tops of mountains shall they leap, as a strong people set in battle array." The noise which locusts make consists in a burring they produce whilst flying, by means of their wings and leaps. As to the grammatical connection here, ἵππων is not, as many understand it, an apposition to ἁρμάτων, but dependent upon it as a genitive; and probably not merely πολλῶν, but also τρεχόντων, refer to ἵππων. Without proper grounds, Ewald considers ἵππων, and De Wette ἁρμάτων, as glosses (the former, however, not now).

Verse 10. *And they had tails like unto scorpions,* different from natural locusts. Scorpions have a very flexible tail at the hinder part of the body, which ends in a curved point with which they wound men and beasts; see Winer, R. W., under Scorpion. What follows runs according to the received reading, which Griesbach has also retained in the text: *and there were stings in their tails; and their power was,* they had power, *to hurt men five months.* But in that case nothing more definite than verse 3 would be contained in it. There are many variations in the Greek manuscripts and other authorities, so that it is difficult to discover with accuracy the original reading. So much is certain, that the καὶ after οὐραῖς αὐτῶν is not genuine, and that καὶ κέντρα belongs to the preceding; so that it is intimated that the power is in their tails to hurt men, according to the Divine will, for five months. Perhaps also καὶ should be read instead of ἦν, with Lachmann, Tischendorf; therefore, *they have tails like scorpions and stings; and in their tail lies their power to hurt men for five months;* comp. Pliny, H. N. ii. 25, of Scorpions: semper cauda in ictu est, nulloque momento meditari cessat, ne quando desit occasioni.

Verse 11. *And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon—Destroyer.* Perhaps an intimation lies at the foundation of this, that locusts make their destructive advances together; in great swarms, as if

they were conducted by a leader. Abaddon is properly abstr. = destruction, devastation, perishing; it also stands for the place of destruction, the abyss = שְׁאוֹל. Among the later Jews, it designates the innermost part of the under-world, or hell. Here it is taken as a concrete, the appellation of a demon, to whom the pit is given over, denoting his destructive character; and is accordingly interpreted by ἀπολλύων, *Destroyer* (Napoleon).

Verse 12. *One woe is past; and behold, there come two woes more hereafter;* namely, at the trumpets of the two last angels. It is most probable that this is not, as Ewald thinks, the seer's own remark, but a voice from heaven heard by him, similar to that of the eagle which in viii. 13 announces the three woes.

The description of the second woe, which appears at the trumpet of the sixth angel, extends from ix. 13—xi. 14; as the remark at the conclusion of this section (xi. 14), that the second woe is past, and that ib. 15, that the seventh angel has sounded his trumpet, clearly show. The description of the second woe is divided into several sections, of which the first,

Verses 13—21,

introduces the chief plague of this second woe, consisting of an innumerable and fearful army of horsemen, which breaks forth after four plague-angels hitherto bound in the Euphrates have been let loose by Divine command; which army kills a third part of men, they having been before tormented exceedingly by the plagues. It has already been shown in the general Introduction that it is quite inadmissible to think here of the Roman army of Vespasian, as Grotius, Wetstein, Herder, Heinrichs, &c., do; or to refer it generally to a plague against *the Jewish* nation and land. At all events, it is not a poetic delineation of a plague which the seer had before his eyes, but the announcement of a future one shortly preceding the last judgment and the coming of the Lord, and increasing the previous misfortunes to their highest point. Those visited by it are not described as

Jews, nor represented as the people of God, but as heathens and worshippers of idols. For that very reason, apart from all others, the explanations of earlier interpreters appear inapplicable, and not suited to the meaning of the book, when they refer it in part to the wars of the Turks and Saracens against Christendom, or, as Coccejus does, to the wars of the Emperor Ferdinand against Protestantism, and such like. The whole description is of such a kind that it cannot well be meant of any ordinary human army. It is more suitable to understand it, with Andreas, of wicked demons coming before the last days. For it is evidently an army of demons, let loose and led by demons, which is to be sent forth against the men of the world, particularly the heathen world, before the last judgment, to destroy a considerable portion of them, without the rest being brought to repentance, so that God's own people are taken by him, and hidden from the last judgment. For what remains, compare the general Introduction, pp. 108 sqq.

Verse 13. *And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God.* The horns of the altar are the projecting points at its four corners (קַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ), perhaps from their horn-like form; and this feature is transferred here to the sacrificial altar in heaven. The *μίαν* is meant to indicate that it was one and the same voice, although it appeared to come forth out of the four horns, by means of which the sound is considered to be strengthened. That the voice proceeds from the altar, where sacrifices are offered to God as symbols of the prayers of the saints, denotes that it was a holy, heavenly voice, and includes besides the idea that these prayers are about to find their fulfilment in the punishment of the adversaries of God and his kingdom. In ch. xvi. 7, a voice is attributed to the altar itself, designating the divine judgment as near and just.

Verse 14. *Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels, which are bound in the great river Euphrates.* In Gen. xv. 8 and other places, the Euphrates is described as the

great river, הַנָּהָר הַגְּדוֹל. The four angels here are demons, different from the four angels named in vii. 1, who hold the four winds at the four corners of the earth. The Euphrates is named as the district whence these demoniac troops break forth to punish the world, perhaps for these reasons: (*a*) because the idea of wasteness attaches to this region; such as one would suppose the abode of demons and evil spirits, whither they were banished that they might no longer hurt; comp. xviii. 2; Matt. xii. 43; Tob. viii. 3, where the demon Asmodi, banished by Tobias, flees into the wilderness of Upper Egypt, where Tobias binds him; so it is said of old Babylon, situated on the Euphrates, in its threatened destruction (Is. xiii. 21), that שְׂעִירִים will dance there, which the LXX. render δαιμόνια; and in imitation of this passage, it is said in our book (xviii. 2) of the new Babylon, Rome, in reference to its destruction, that it had become κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου. Besides, (*b*) this district on the Euphrates, among such regions of the earth as were in some degree known, continued to be most independent of the Romans; so that it lay at the nearest point whence one might suppose an army breaking forth to punish the dwellers of the earth and its rulers; comp. also below, xvi. 12. Yet we must not say, with Ewald, that the seer was here thinking precisely of the Parthians and their horsemen as the persons summoned to chastise the Romans, for, as already said, the army itself is not represented as a human one.

Verse 15. *And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year* = for every time they should be commanded, *to slay the third part of men.*

Verse 16. *And the number of the army of the horsemen* (was) *two hundred thousand thousand* (200 millions); *I heard the number of them;* he hears the number pronounced, since he himself could not with any certainty count them because of the great number; comp. vii. 4. The καὶ of the received text before ἤκουσα is to be expunged, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lach-

mann, Tischendorf, &c., after A. 28 cursive, Syr. Copt. Arm. Vulg. MS. Prim. al. lat. Andr. Then the construction may be somewhat different by striking out the colon after μυριάδων, and taking ὁ ἀριθμὸς as a nominative absolute preceding: *And the number of the army of the horsemen,* 200 *millions I heard as their number.*

Verse 17. *And thus I saw the horses in the vision.* Such is ὅρασις, as often in the LXX. and New Testament. One might refer the οὕτως to what precedes: so now = in such troops. But more probably it refers to what follows, to the minuter description which the seer immediately gives of the horses. A certain negligence always occurs in the representation; *thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them having breast-plates,* &c., instead of, thus the horses and their riders were presented to me in the vision; *the riders had fiery jacinth and brimstone breast-plates;* all three adjectives refer, without doubt, to the colour of the coat of mail, which had a three-fold bright colour. ὑακίνθινος probably denotes blackish-red, corresponding to the colour of smoke, verse 18; comp. upon the word, the Lexicons of Schneider and Passow.

And the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.

Verse 18. *By these three plagues was the third part of men killed by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.* The description here is a sort of three-fold plague, although it must be thought of as properly one.

Verse 19. *For the power of the horses rests in their mouth,* with it they exercise their deadly action, *and in their tails; for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them,* the heads, *they do hurt,* injure, besides their mouth. There is no particular occasion for assuming, with many interpreters (also Ewald), that the writer thought of the *amphisbaena* in this comparison, which, according to the ancients (for example, Plin., H. N. viii. 35), had also a head in the tail, and in both heads poison; the ὅμοιαι ὄφεσιν

is not = ὅμοιαι οὐραῖς ὄφεων; but the meaning is, that their tails were similar to snakes, especially in having a head. Besides, the words καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν are wanting in the received text; but Compl., Bengel, &c., and Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have rightly admitted them again, after A. B. C. 37 cursive, Vulg. Syr. Ar. Copt. Aeth. Andr. Areth. Prim. The addition is necessary to the meaning.

Verse 20. *And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not* (by discontinuing) (μετανοεῖν in Apoc. frequently, is wanting entirely in John's Gospel and Epistles [Ewald]) *of the works of their hands,* does not mean the idols which they had made with their hands (as מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו, Is. xvii. 8), but their doings and conduct in general.

That they should not (still farther) *worship demons* (in the same manner are the deities worshipped by the heathens styled in 1 Cor. x. 20 sqq., Deut. xxxii. 17; comp. Ps. xcvi. 5).

And idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear nor walk (after Dan. v. 23, "And thou hast praised, O Belshazzar, the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know"); comp. Ps. cxv. 5—8. For the rest, it is clear that the writer here thought of idolaters, of heathens, not of Jews, as was already remarked in the general Introduction, which, together with the reasons already mentioned, serve as proofs that the army of horsemen presented in the preceding verses cannot mean the army of Vespasian in the Romish-Jewish war.

Verse 21. *Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts;* φαρμακεῖαι are præstigiæ, magic arts, sorceries, particularly such as were practised to injure others, and with the pretended aid of devils. In Deut. xviii. 10 sqq., divination and sorcery of every kind are forbidden to the Jews as something abominable to Jehovah, for which he drives the heathen nations before Israel out of their land. That Paul considered the like arts as incompatible with the

gospel is shown by Acts xix. 19, Gal. v. 20. In the Apocalypse, see xxi. 8, xxii. 15. As it is here united with πορνεία, so in Mal. iii. 5, מְנָאֲפִים and מְכַשְּׁפִים are named together.

Ch. x.

The contents of this chapter contain no progress in the prophecy, in the development of the future, but, as it were, some interludes, which, like the sealing of the servants of God at the opening of the seventh seal, precede and prepare the way for the sounding of the seventh trumpet and introduction of the third woe; or rather, to speak more exactly, appear between the two visions relating to the future, in which the second woe is included. First, there is in

Verses 1—7,

a phenomenon, the carrying out of which is not clear, but in which an angel at last declares with an oath that there shall be delay no longer, but that immediately at the sounding of the seventh angel the mystery of God revealed by the prophets will be fully completed.

Verse 1. *And I saw another mighty angel* (see v. 2 upon ἰσχυρὸς as an epithet of the angel) *come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud,* concealed in it as in a garment; *and the rainbow* (was) *upon his head,* a crown of beams, as it were, covering it (compare also iv. 3).

And his face was, as it were, the sun, as bright; comp. i. 16, καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.

And his feet as pillars of fire; comp. i. 15 (as shining brass).

Verse 2. *And he had* (properly, having, according to the genuine reading) *in his hand a little book open.* This book is certainly the same as that spoken of immediately below, there given to the seer to swallow, which is sweet in his mouth, but after he has swallowed it, it makes his stomach bitter; whereupon it is made known to him that he will again prophesy about many nations and kings. But here it may be asked, in what relation does this book stand to the one described at the beginning, the book of the

future closed with seven seals? As its seven seals were already opened by the Lamb in the preceding verses, it might here be represented as an open book. Only one would expect that it would be distinctly intimated that the very book already described is now introduced as an open one. Its designation here by the diminutive *βιβλαρίδιον*, appears to hint that another than the *βιβλίον* is meant. It is true that we have here also *βιβλίον* in B. 25 cursive; but the received is doubtless the correct reading, as is made still more certain by verses 9, 10. Many interpreters, therefore, think of another book different from the former. So also Ewald, who believes (now, however, somewhat differently) that the little book presented here contains nothing but the destiny which threatened the holy city of Jerusalem until the appearing of the Lord, and which is introduced in ch. xi. But according to verse 11, we cannot doubt that the contents of the book, which the seer received by swallowing, relate to the same subject of which he should afterwards prophesy again; consequently, not to the one Jewish nation merely. Most probably we must regard the matter in this light, viz. that the little book is not the same with the one originally closed with seven seals, but another of lesser dimensions, also referring to the future of the world and the church, containing that which had not yet come forth in past phenomena; the remainder of that book as it were, as Bengel expresses it. It is intimated in the *ἀνεῳγμένον*, that the contents also lay open and revealed.

And he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth. This signifies only the colossal and gigantic stature of the angel; and at the same time his position, where he might be seen by all the world.

Verse 3. *And cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth* (*μυκᾶσθαι* is properly used of the roaring of the bull = mugire, as *βρυχᾶσθαι* of the lion; yet both are applied to other animals). *And when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.* Thunder is here personified and divided, as it were, among seven spirits or angels of thunder, who uttered their voices together. Perhaps

(as Züllig thinks) the number seven of the thunders, refers to Ps. xxix. 3—9, where קוֹל יְהוָה stands seven times in succession (as a designation of thunder).

Verse 4. *And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write,* the contents, the signification of their utterances, *and* (however) *I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.* Comp. Dan. viii. 26, xii. 49, where Daniel is commanded to seal up the visions in part communicated, which means to write them down, but to retain them sealed up till the time of fulfilment which was still remote, and not to give them up to the multitude before the time. Conversely, in our book (xxii. 10), the seer is commanded not to seal up the words of the prophecy of our book, since the time of fulfilment (ὁ καιρὸς) is nigh. In this passage, where he is commanded to seal up and not to write, the former can only be taken in a manner corresponding to the latter, that he should not make known, but keep to himself, the contents of these utterances of the seven thunders, here treated as articulate voices so far as they had a definite meaning, which the seer knew and could have written down. It may be assumed, accordingly, that the contents of these voices are not expressly written down in the following verses; and we can, at most, only conjecture what they are. Most probably they contained still more special divine threats about the last judgments to be inflicted upon the world. The contents of the utterance of the angel, not written down, are likewise of the same kind, and are intimated and confirmed in their fearfulness by the utterances of the seven thunders. In any case, what the angel here expresses (verse 3) does not mean exactly the same as that which he swears in verses 5 sqq.

Verse 5. *And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his right* (τὴν δεξιὰν is wanting in the received text, but is in Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and others, on sufficient testimony) *hand to heaven* (the gesture of one who swears, as Gen. xiv. 22, Numb. xiv. 30, &c.).

Verse 6. *And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever;* Dan. xii. 7 lies at the foundation of this representation, "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever," וַיִּשָּׁבַע בְּחֵי הָעוֹלָם.

Who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be delay no longer (so here χρόνος, from which χρονίζεσθαι = to delay, to tarry). Verse 7. *But in the days* (at the time) *of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets;* will find its fulfilment; καὶ ἐτελέσθη, quite a Hebrew construction, instead of τελεσθήσεται. The μυστήριον of God is the Divine counsel as to the redemption and salvation of the servants of God, concealed from men and discerned only by immediate revelation, which will be fulfilled, will be realized in a perfect way at the future coming of the Lord, when the judgment of the world will take place at the same time. The prophets here do not mean Christ and the apostles, as Grotius and Eichhorn think, but the prophets of the Old Testament, to whom God already revealed this his counsel in a manner more or less clear; comp. Amos iii. 7, where it is said that God does nothing without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets (כִּי־אִם גָּלָה סוֹדוֹ אֶל־עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִיאִים).

Verses 8—11.

Verse 8. *And the voice which I heard from heaven* (verse 4) *spake unto me again, and said, Go and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel, which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth.*

Verse 9. *And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take and swallow it,* devour it, eat it up; *and it shall make thy belly bitter,* cause a bitter feeling in it; as Job xxvii. 2, ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πικράνας μου τὴν

ψυχήν (הַמַּר). 1 Macc. iii. 7, καὶ ἐπικρανε βασιλεῖς πολλοῦς καὶ εὔφρανε τὸν Ἰακώβ.

Verse 10. *And I took the little book out of the angel's hand and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey, and as soon as I had eaten it my belly was bitter.* As to the meaning of this symbolical action in general, consuming or swallowing the words of any one, of a doctrine communicated, and such like, signifies, to receive them eagerly and appropriate them to one's self. So Jeremiah says (xv. 16), that when the words of Jehovah came to him, he swallowed them (וָאֹכְלֵם), for they were to him as the joy and desire of his heart. This is represented in Ezek. ii. 8—iii. 3, as a symbolical action in vision; the prophet there sees a hand stretched out to him, and in it a roll of a book written on both sides with lamentations and mourning and woe; he is commanded to eat this roll (אֱכֹל אֶת־הַמְּגִלָּה הַזֹּאת), to feed his belly with it (בִּטְנְךָ), and to fill his bowels (מֵעֶיךָ) with it, and then to go and speak to the children of Israel; this the prophet does, whereupon it was in his mouth sweet as honey (וַתְּהִי בְּפִי כִּדְבַשׁ לְמָתוֹק). This can only imply that the prophet willingly accepted the word of God as sweet food, although it announced sorrow, in order to make it known to the people according to Jehovah's command. This passage evidently lies at the foundation of ours. That little book appeared indeed as an open one, but in the hand of the angel, without the seer himself knowing its contents. It is now represented symbolically that he was well acquainted with its contents, had appropriated and accepted them, and was therefore able to impart them to others. But it is not clear what is meant when it is said, the book swallowed was sweet to the tongue but it made his belly bitter, or, after he had swallowed it there was a bitter, unpleasant feeling. It has been referred to the mingled feeling of joy and pain which the partly joyful, partly mournful, contents of the book called forth, the latter on account of the threats of Divine judgment contained in it, particularly respecting Jerusalem. Yet, as we remarked already, it appears improbable, from verse 11, that the Divine judgment

which threatened this city or the Jewish people generally should be the contents of the little book. One would rather expect the idea that the contents of the book, on his first tasting it, were bitter on account of the Divine threats announced; but yet after he had swallowed it, the book seemed delicious and agreeable to the taste on account of its purpose, the prediction of the appearing of the Lord and the fulfilment of God's kingdom. Yet one might, at all events, explain the manner in which the case is here put, by the fact that the writer made use of and retained as much as possible the description of Ezekiel; wishing to denote the bitter and melancholy feeling accompanying, by what is added. The description, however, apprehended in this way, does not appear quite clear or natural. From the manner in which the announcement is attached to it (verse 11), that the seer was again to prophesy about many nations and kings, which refers to the announcing of the things contained in this book, one is rather inclined to take the symbolism here in a somewhat different light, namely, as intimating that, however sweet the taste of the book had been to him because of its contents, he could not keep them to himself, but must cast them up again in order to communicate them to others. The effect of the book in his interior compelled him to that.

Verse 11. *And he said unto me,* the angel, *Thou must again,* anew, still farther, besides what thou hast already beheld and what thou hast been already commanded to make known, *prophesy in reference to many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.* πολλοῖς belongs to the three first nouns; ἐπὶ, with the dative, cannot mean here, among the nations, prophesy to them, but = de iis, in reference to them, *prophesy upon them or of them;* as, for example, John xii. 16, ἐμνήσθησαν ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα. It is in the highest degree improbable that this should refer, as Ewald thinks, merely to the prophecy about Jerusalem (ch. xi.). What is prophesied in our book of Jerusalem could not possibly be described as referring to *many* nations and kings.

Ch. xi. 1, 2.

Another symbolical action which the seer is commanded to perform, with a prophecy annexed about the treading under foot of the holy city by the Gentiles.

Verse 1. *And there was given me a reed like unto a rod.* A measuring staff is meant. Yet it is doubtful how the signification of the two nouns and their relation to one another is to be understood. Some take ῥάβδος in the definite signification of a measuring staff. But that usage is not certain; on the other hand, κάλαμος appears among the Greeks for a measuring reed; comp. below, xxi. 15, 16. Probably this is the meaning here, and the ὅμοιος ῥάβδῳ serves only to denote something like the size and form of the measuring rod.

Whilst it was said; so λέγων is to be taken = לֵאמֹר; the following should be considered as the call of a heavenly voice, and (from verse 3, τοῖς μάρτυσί μου) either God's or, more probably, Christ's. The received text has removed the syntactical error arising from the λέγων, by putting before it, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει, which words are wanting in A. and about 30 or more cursive, Ar. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. Andr. Areth. Prim., &c., and are omitted in the editions of Erasmus, Stephens, Bengel, as well as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., after external evidence; to which add that according to verse 3, an angel does not appear to be the speaker. It is doubtless a later insertion from Zech. ii. 3, iii. 5.

Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. We may doubt to what the pronoun αὐτῷ refers, whether to θυσιαστήριον or to ναός; the former is the nearest preceding noun, in which case the sense must be, upon the altar = at, by the same (so Vitringa, Grotius). Yet it is more probable that it refers to the chief idea, the temple itself.

Verse 2. *But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.* The meaning of this verse is differently understood. First of all, the purport

of the measuring is doubtful. The image of measuring is also found in Ezek. xl. 1, where the prophet in vision sees a heavenly phenomenon, a man, having in his hand a line of flax and a measuring reed (קְנֵה־מִדָּה LXX. *κάλαμος μέτρου*), and measuring everything with it, specifies the form and condition of the new temple about to be erected. Similarly Zech. ii., where the prophet in vision sees a man with a measuring line in his hand, measuring the New Jerusalem, as it was to be restored in a more ample and glorious form after its destruction. From these types, one would be inclined, with Bengel, Heinrichs, &c., to refer the measuring here also to the new building to be erected in the future, to the designing of a plan for a new temple in the kingdom of God. But in that case the *μετρεῖν τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας* could not be easily explained, and it would not be clear in what way the prophecy of the treading under foot of the holy city, which can only mean Jerusalem, could have been attached to this symbolical action. Doubtless the measuring refers to the existing temple, and has another interpretation than that in Ezekiel and Zechariah, viz. the same essentially as marking with the divine seal in ch. vii. The space and the men who will be excepted at the affliction and treading under foot impending over the city of Jerusalem on the part of the Gentiles, are denoted and enclosed by the measuring; those who will continue devoted to God. We must therefore think of the temple in Jerusalem as the *ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*. As already remarked in the general Introduction, the hope appears to be expressed in this chapter that Divine punishment should be inflicted upon Jerusalem also, but that the city should not be destroyed by it; should rather be preserved, together with the temple, until the day of the Lord; and also that the greater portion of its inhabitants should be converted to the Lord. But one may doubt as to the extent of temple understood here. This depends upon the meaning of the *θυσιαστήριον* which is said to be measured, and of the *αὐλῆς τῆς ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ* excluded, not included in the circuit of what is to be measured. Ewald, Lücke also, p. 354, take the latter to mean

the extreme outer court of the temple at Jerusalem, the court of the Gentiles, access to which was free to the Gentiles, so that much less sanctity was attributed to it than to the rest of the building; but the former understands by the θυσιαστήριον, and Züllig also, the altar of burnt sacrifices which stood in the forecourt of the priests. Yet it is in itself probable that, if in addition to the temple, a particular part of it is prominently adduced as measured out and placed under the protection of God, the altar of burnt sacrifices, where bloody offerings were presented, would not be adduced; but the altar of incense, where sacrifices of incense were offered, symbolizing the prayers of the saints; otherwise it would imply that bloody sacrifices should be retained in the Messianic kingdom: it is only on this supposition that the fact would have been made prominent that the altar where they were offered should be taken by God under his special protection. Besides, in our book, τὸ θυσιαστήριον is several times put for altar of incense, not merely with the epithet τὸ χρυσοῦν (viii. 3, ix. 13), but also without any addition (viii. 3 the first time, and ib. verse 5), and in the same sense in other passages (xiv. 8, xvi. 7, and also vi. 9, as is remarked there). Then, also, it is not likely that the αὐλή, which was not to be measured with the rest, should mean merely the forecourt of the Gentiles; but should rather, in contrast with the temple proper, have the more restricted sense which included the holy and holy of holies, the whole forecourt including that of the Israelites, where the altar of burnt-offering stood. The expression here may be very well taken so; only we must not translate "the outer court of the temple," but *the court without the temple;* the genitive τοῦ ναοῦ not being dependent on ἡ αὐλὴ, as Vitringa, Ewald, Züllig think, but on ἔξωθεν itself, which is also the most obvious sense. The meaning then is, that at the impending treading of the holy city, the temple proper, with the altar of incense; but not the forecourt nor the altar for sacrifices of blood, should be taken under God's immediate protection, implying that now, under the

new covenant, the sacrifices well pleasing to God are not those of blood, but the prayers of saints, the ascending of which to God is symbolized by incense in the holy place. One may compare this with Enoch lxxxix. 38 sqq., where the seer sees the old house (temple) sunk, but all the pillars, every plant (and carved work), brought out of it, and the ivory of the house put in one place at the right of the earth, after which the Lord of the sheep brings forth a new house, putting it in place of the first. As to the προσκυνοῦντες, I took it to mean (Abhandlung, pp. 266 sqq.) Christians as the only true priests, inasmuch as access to the sanctuary proper, as well as to the altar of incense, belonged only to the priests. Yet this interpretation appears to me now too artificial, and I retracted it in my Beiträge z. Evang. Krit. p. 188. In the first place, the subject of the chapter in general is merely Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Then the expression, οἱ προσκυνοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ, whether we refer the pronoun to θυσιαστήριον, or, which is more likely, to the temple, does not point definitely to those who were already followers of Christ, but to pious worshippers of God in general. And although we cannot doubt that, according to the purport of our book, we should think especially of believers in Jerusalem, the followers of the Lord, yet the expression does not appear to refer to them exclusively, but to include with them such Jews as served their God with honest heart, though not yet belonging to the Christian Church; so that a hope is expressed that they also would be led to a knowledge of the Lord and belief in him; just as a hope is afterwards intimated that the greatest part of the inhabitants of the city would be converted (verse 13). At all events, this measuring of the pious worshippers in the sanctuary means that they are placed under the especial protection of their God, who will preserve them unhurt during the affliction which threatens the holy city. An explanation like Hengstenberg's is quite false and against the meaning of the book, which understands the temple (measured, and consequently to be preserved) of those who are deeply imbued and

penetrated with the spirit of the (Christian) Church; and the outer court, of those who have been but superficially converted, and would lose even that which they have when the Church is flooded by the world; see against him, Lücke, 2nd ed., pp. 225—237. The ἔδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσι does not mean that the forecourt without the temple was at that time given up to the heathen and profaned by them, but that it was appointed to them, and, like the rest of the city, would be trodden under foot by them. As to the manner in which the prophecy against Jerusalem is here constructed, viz. that it will be trodden under foot forty-two months by the Gentiles, that is, will be given over to them during that time, and maltreated by them profanely, prophecies of the book of Daniel lie at the basis, where the time of oppression of the Jewish people, and suppression of the worship of the true God, is stated at seven half-years (= forty-two months) or half a year-week (vii. 25, ix. 27, xii. 7; comp. viii. 13 sqq.); which typically referred to a calamity of the city preceding the appearance of the Messianic kingdom, or directly applied to it as a prophecy. Compare also Lücke, xxi. 24, καὶ Ἱερου σαλὴμ ἔσταιπατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἄχρις οὗ πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἐθνῶν; a treading under foot, καταπατεῖσθαι, is also described as what happened to Jerusalem and the sanctuary, under Antiochus Epiphanes, on the part of the heathen; Macc. iii. 45, 51, iv. 60; Dan. viii. 13.

Verses 3—13.

A prophecy of two Christian martyrs, who, during the period of Jerusalem's being trodden under foot by the Gentiles, appear in the city and are murdered by Antichrist, but after their death are wonderfully glorified by God, and therefore effect the conversion of the greatest portion of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who continue after divine punishment. See what was remarked on this section in the general Introduction. It was there said that an historical fact, which the writer had already before his eyes—not the Jewish high-priests, Ananus and Jesus, whom Wetstein thinks of, and also Herder, Eichhorn, &c.—is not

spoken of; but that there is a prophetic allusion to two witnesses for the Christian faith, who should appear at the time preceding the coming of the Lord, and should direct the nation (particularly the Jewish), by their exhortations, to repentance at his coming. An idea prevalent in the Jewish Church at that time lies at the foundation, according to which it was expected that some of the old prophets would precede the Messiah as forerunners, to prepare the way for him. Naturally this idea developed itself in the Christian Church in such a way as that they were to appear before the return of the Lord, and to succumb outwardly to the power of Antichrist. As to the persons of these witnesses for the faith, it may be assumed as certain, as all the ancients allow, that the prophet Elijah is one of them, since the opinion was widely prevalent that he, having been carried up to heaven without dying, would return at the time of the Messiah, or as his forerunner (according to Mal. iv. 5). The ancients generally suppose the second to be Enoch, especially because it was assumed of him (according to Gen. v. 24) that he was received up to heaven whilst still alive. So Tertull. de animo, ch. 1.; Jerome, Ep. ad Marcellam; Ammonius, in his interpretation of Daniel; Arethas, who calls this interpretation (Elijah and Enoch) a tradition unanimously accepted by the Church, as Andreas says that πολλοὶ τῶν διδασκάλων τούτους ἐνόησαν; comp., farther, the apocryphal Apocalypse of John, Nicodemi Evangelium, ch. xxv., and a Scholion to the Cod. MS. Gr. N. T. Uffenbachianum. Yet it is more probable that Moses is meant for the second (so also Züllig), since the idea appears to have been more prevalent at the time of Christ, that Moses would return and precede the Messiah, besides Elijah; comp. Matt. xvii. 3 sqq., and Schöttgen, Hor. I. p. 148, II. p. 544. The features also of the following description of the two witnesses appear to allude to the history of Elijah, as well as to that of Moses, in many ways. It is certainly not accordant with the purport of the Apocalypse not to understand the two witnesses as individuals, as many interpreters do, but, with Ebrard, as the

law and the gospel; or with Hengstenberg, as ideal persons, personifications of testimony-bearing. As to the description in this section, the prophecy of the two martyrs is first given to John by the same heavenly voice, namely, Christ's, which had already spoken to him; the discourse continues, and the description runs into futures as far as verse 10. Then it changes; the re-animation of the two martyrs and what is annexed to it being related in aorists, as if it actually took place before the eyes of the seer, therefore as a vision.

Verse 3. *And I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy,* a Hebraising form, instead of, I will give them the office, the commission, to prophesy, 1260 *days, clothed in sackcloth,* namely, as preachers of repentance, as a sign of mourning for the destruction of the people and the injury threatening them. The προφητεύειν denotes entire prophetic activity in speech, which is meant here at the same time to point to the future. The Lord describes them as his μάρτυρες, inasmuch as they bear witness of him, particularly of his coming; comp. i. 5, iii. 14; John i. 15. The article τοῖς δυσί μάρτυσί μου shows that two definite persons are meant, and that the expectation of them might be supposed as a thing already known. The 1260 days correspond to the forty-two months, during which Jerusalem was to be trodden under foot by the Gentiles; this time is meant for that of their prophetic preaching of repentance.

Verse 4. *These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth.* Here the article, being repeated, shows that two definite olive-trees and candlesticks are meant. This refers to the vision of Zechariah, ch. iv., where the prophet sees a golden candlestick (λυχνία) with seven lamps (λύχνοι), and with it two olive-trees; the seven lamps are explained to be the eyes of Jehovah which run through the whole world (verse 10); the two olive-trees as "the two sons of oil (בְּנֵי יִצְהָר, that is, anointed, consecrated to God), which stand there before the Lord of all the earth" (הָעֹמְדִים עַל־אֲדוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ),

which is to be considered a most honourable designation, "servants of Jehovah." The prophet probably thought of Zerubbabel and the high-priest Joshua. Here the allusion is to those two witnesses who should appear before the second advent of the Lord as preachers of repentance in Jerusalem. At the same time they are described as the two candlesticks, alluding doubtless to that vision of Zechariah; although but one candlestick with seven lamps is spoken of there. Perhaps this candlestick was also looked upon as representing the two anointed ones, and therefore two candlesticks might be spoken of here. According to A. B. C. and many cursive, Andr. Areth. and others, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., the article αἱ should be accepted before δύο λυχνίαι; and instead of θεοῦ, with the same editions (according to A. C. 33 cursive, Syr. Ar. Copt. (Aeth.) Vulg. Hippol. Andr. and Areth. Prim. Victorin and others), κυρίου should be read, as it is found also in Zechariah; in any case, according to the purport of our book, God the Father is meant by the Lord of the earth, not Christ, who is here the speaker. Finally, instead of the received ἑστώσαι, ἑστῶτες should probably be read, with Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, approved of by Mill (after A. B. C. 25 cursive, Vulg. Areth.); and this inaccuracy may be explained by the fact, that the writer had in his mind the men themselves, to whom the words refer in Zechariah; although here the article αἱ refers to the λυχνίαι.

Verse 5. *And if any man will hurt them,* dare to do them harm, *fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed,* in the manner indicated, by fire proceeding out of their mouth. Differently explained by Bengel and De Wette, *in consequence of that,* as if according to the jus talionis. The second hemistich repeats, merely for emphatic confirmation, the thought expressed in the first; δεῖ indicates that it is conformable to the Divine will. Moreover, there is an obvious allusion to the history of Elijah,

who destroyed twice with fire the army sent out against him by the king of Israel, Ahaziah; the fire falling down from heaven at his command (2 Kings i. 10—12; Luke ix. 54). Since such was the effect of his prayer, it is said in Sir. xlviii. 1 sqq., that Elijah is a prophet like fire, whose word burns as a torch, and who brought down fire (from heaven, κατήγαγεν). The effect of this is enhanced by the consuming fire proceeding out of the mouth of the two witnesses themselves; a sign of the great power and efficacy of their words; similar to the sharp two-edged sword proceeding from the mouth of the Son of Man (i. 16); comp., besides, Numb. xvi. 35, according to which those who rebelled against Moses were consumed by fire proceeding from Jehovah.

Verse 6. *These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy;* this also alludes to the history of Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. 18, who proclaimed that there would be a drought in Israel, which also took place, so that rain, according to ib. xviii. 1, did not return till three years. At a later period it was customary to give the duration of this drought in the round and mystical number of seven half-years = three and a half years; so Luke iv. 25; James v. 17; and also Jalkut Schimeoni ad Reg. xvi. fol. 32; corresponding to the 1260 days of the duration of the prophetic activity of these two witnesses of the Lord, during which they have also power to shut up heaven, that is, to stop all rain.

And have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will, like Moses in Egypt, to whom this doubtless alludes.

Verse 7. *And when they shall have finished their testimony,* at the end of the period of 1260 days, during which they are destined to work as witnesses of the Lord,

The beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, attack them, *and shall overcome them and kill them.* This means Antichrist, whose essence and agency are portrayed at large in the second part of the book; who is there (xiii. 1)

introduced as a beast, ascending up out of the sea, of whom it is also said (xvii. 8), he will ascend out of the pit (μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου). The description of those (verses 9, 10) who rejoice at the death of the two witnesses, although they are killed in Jerusalem, shows that this beast here is not a representative and personification of Judaism in its hostility to Christianity; but is rather a representative of paganism or idolatry.

Verse 8. *And their dead bodies* (instead of the received τὰ πτώματα, we should read here and the first time (verse 9), τὸ πτῶμα, after overwhelming external evidence, with Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf; but the singular stands collectively, like נְבֵלָה, and in the same sense as the plural; the latter being genuine the second time, verse 9), *shall lie in the streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified.* By the latter addition, Jerusalem is most clearly meant. Instead of the received reading, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, we should have, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., ὁ κ. αὐτῶν, after A. B. C. 32 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Orig. Andr. Areth. and others; and the pronoun then refers to the two witnesses themselves, of whom Christ might be designated as lord, just as well as they styled *his* witnesses (verse 3). After what has been remarked, these might be considered the words of Christ himself, notwithstanding the description of his person. Yet it is quite possible that the writer did not mean this entire communication of the heavenly voice to the seer, in the words spoken by the Messiah. πνευματικῶς καλεῖται implies that the city, though properly having another name, resembled the town of Sodom in its internal and vicious condition, and is therefore punished by God with destruction; to which city the covenant people are frequently compared, when described with respect to their disobedience to God (for example, in Is. i. 10, "Hear the word of Jehovah, ye princes of Sodom; observe the doctrine of our God, ye people of Gomorrah"). The same is the case with the land of Egypt, in reference to the hostility

and persecutions it inflicted upon the people of God at the time of Moses, even as Jerusalem now acts toward the followers of the Lord.

Verse 9. *And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues and nations* = people of every nation of the earth, *shall see* (sc. οἱ or τινες, as ii. 10, &c.) *their dead bodies three days and an half* (again a round mystical number, denoting a space of several days), *and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.* Out of hostility to them and the thing they proclaimed, they will by no means permit them to be buried after their murder; but they will be left lying upon the street like a carcase, in token of disgrace. This was regarded by the Hebrews as a particular dishonour.

Verse 10. *And they that dwell upon the earth* (as iii. 10, vi. 10) *shall rejoice over them,* on account of their murder, *and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another,* as is still customary in the East on festive occasions; a sign of rejoicing; see Harmer's Beobachtungen über den Orient. Part ii. p. 1. Compare the שָׁלַח מָנוֹת, Neh. viii. 10, 12; Esth. ix. 19, 22; that is, to send to those who are absent from a festival dishes (portions) of the meal.

Because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth; for this reason it is natural that the latter should rejoice exceedingly at their destruction. The βασανίζειν refers both to the unwelcome matter which the preaching of repentance naturally contained for worldly men, as well as to the plagues which the two witnesses, agreeably to the power bestowed upon them, were able to inflict on their adversaries and the world in general, according to verses 5, 6.

Verse 11. Here, as already remarked, there is a change in the description, since what happens farther to these martyrs is no longer prophetically announced by the heavenly voice, but is beheld by the seer in vision, as if happening before his eyes.

And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them. The breath of life was, as it were, again

breathed into them by God; they lived again, in proof of which it is said, *And they stood upon their feet*, rose again by their own act. In this picture, Ezek. xxxvii. 10 floated before the mind of the writer, where it is said that when the prophet prophesied, life came again into the bones of the dead, they again lived and stood upon their feet (וַתָּבֹא בָהֶם הָרוּחַ וַיִּחְיוּ וַיַּעַמְדוּ עַל־רַגְלֵיהֶם). In our passage, instead of the received ἐπ᾽ αυτοὺς, we should probably read, with Bengel (Gnomon), Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ἐν αὐτοῖς (= εἰς αὐτοὺς), after A. cursive, Andreas. Another reading has merely αὐτοῖς, C. 4 cursive, and so ed. of Erasmus, ed. Berg; on the contrary, εἰς αὐτοὺς, B. 21 cursive, Vulg. Areth. Andr. 2; probably all a gloss from ἐν αὐτοῖς; comp. 2 Kings xiii. 21, where it says of a dead man who was thrown into the sepulchre of Elisha, that as soon as he touched the bones of the prophet he revived, and stood upon his feet. On πνεῦμα ζωῆς compare נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים, Gen. ii. 7.

And great fear fell upon them which saw them.

Verse 12. *And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither; and they ascended up to heaven in a cloud.* Here is repeated what is related of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11, that he was carried up to heaven in a whirlwind (וַיַּעַל בַּסְּעָרָה הַשָּׁמָיִם), before the eyes of his follower Elisha; either the men who saw the martyrs and their re-animation, or more probably the martyrs themselves, are the subject of ἤκουσαν. But the genuine reading here is probably ἤκουσα, *I heard*, which the Compl., Bengel, Tischendorf, and some other editions have; and Griesbach, Ewald, Züllig, De Wette, &c., approve. It is found in B. 24 cursive, Syr. ed. Ar. Copt. Andr. Areth., and might easily have been changed, according to what precedes, into the received reading by transcribers who supposed that the address of the heavenly voice to the seer still continues.

And their enemies beheld them.

Verse 13. *And the same hour* (instead of ὥρα, Compl. and others have ἡμέρα, to which also Griesbach strongly inclines; after B. 32 cursive, Ar. Pol. Andr. 2, Areth.) *was there a great*

earthquake, and the tenth part of the city (Jerusalem) *fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand;* on ὀνόματα, see iii. 4. The earthquake appears here in glorification of the two martyrs, and accompanying their victory over their enemies; whereupon is destroyed a part, and undoubtedly far the smaller part, of the city and its Jewish inhabitants, for they are certainly meant. But upon those who remain (namely, the remaining Jewish inhabitants of the city, and perhaps of the Jewish land in general), the thing has a different effect than the slaying of a third part of men by the diabolical troop had upon the rest of the men of the earth, according to ix. 20 sqq.; for whilst it said of these, that they were not converted from idolatry and other vices by divine punishment, we read here of those, *and the remnant were affrighted,* were afraid (Acts xxiv. 24, 25, of Felix, ἔμφοβος γενόμενος), *and gave glory to the God of heaven,* the honour due to him, acknowledging him in his power, justice and mercy, and so were induced to become obedient to his will; compare, upon the formula, xiv. 7, xvi. 9; John ix. 24; Luke xvii. 18. It cannot, therefore, be denied that a hope is intimated here that, though God should inflict punishment on Jerusalem, only a part of the city and its inhabitants should perish; that such as remain should amend, and the city, together with the temple, be preserved until the appearing of the Lord. See on this the general Introduction.

Herewith the second woe, which appears at the sixth trumpet, is concluded, as is expressly stated in

Verse 14.

The second woe is past, and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly; comp. ix. 12, ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα. That the mystery of God should be fulfilled at the trumpet of the seventh angel, and that there should be delay no longer, was also (x. 6 sqq.) confirmed by the oath of an angel. The subject is now also the trumpet of the seventh angel,

and the voices which are heard thereupon in heaven, together with the other phenomena,

Verses 15—19,

lead us to expect that a description of the commencement of the kingdom of the Messiah in its victory over the world, and the last judgment upon the world, will follow immediately; and that with it the whole unveiling of the future will be concluded. It is said, namely,

Verse 15. *And the seventh angel sounded, and there were heard loud voices in heaven, saying* (instead of λέγουσαι, λέγοντες should be read, which Mill approves, and Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have received, according to A. B. 14 cursive; in the following context, instead of the received ἐγένοντο αἱ βασιλεῖαι, the singular has much more external evidence for it, ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία, which the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have received, and which in fact appears more suitable; Ewald takes the plural, as the more difficult reading, for the genuine one), *The kingdom of the world is become that of our Lord and of his Anointed* (probably an allusion to Ps. ii. 2). Züllig here takes ἐγένετο by itself = has appeared; and unites τοῦ κυρίου, &c., closely with ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου, the world-sovereignty of God and the Messiah has appeared; but this is grammatically harsh and unnatural; xii. 10 is also in favour of the other acceptation, ἄρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία κ. ἡ δύναμις κ. ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κ. ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, where it is doubtless taken in this manner; *and he shall reign for ever and ever.* We may doubt here who is meant as subject to the singular βασιλεύσει, God the Father or the Messiah. In itself, we might very well suppose the latter; the writer having thought of the noun just preceding, which would also suit the sense. Yet a comparison of verse 17 makes it probable that it refers grammatically to the main idea, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, with which the other acceptation is connected in mean-

ing, where he (our God) shall reign with his Anointed for ever and ever.

Verse 16. *And the four-and-twenty elders which sat before God on their thrones,* or sit (Lachmann has both times expunged the οἱ, after A. and several cursive; then it would be, the twenty-four elders sitting before God on their thrones; but the received text is more suitable), *fell upon their faces and worshipped God,*

Verse 17. *Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast* (the received text adds, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, wanting in A. B. 32 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Aeth. Vulg. Ital. MS. Andr. 2, Areth. Latin Fathers, omitted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and approved by Mill); *because thou hast taken to thee thy great power,* hast seized, which thou appearedst to have resigned and to have delivered up to the prince of the world.

And hast taken the sovereignty = and now reignest; for so is the aorist to be explained.

Verse 18. *And the nations were angry,* were enraged against God and his people, and were refractory against him; this is probably an allusion to Ps. xcix. 1, יְהוָה מָלָךְ יִרְגְּזוּ עַמִּים, although the proper sense is there, Jehovah is King, the nations tremble; but comp. also LXX., ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί; comp. also Ps. ii. 1.

And his wrath is come, his anger is come with his punitive justice; in which relation the ὀργὴ of God is often mentioned.

And the time of the dead, that they should be judged, can only mean the time of the general resurrection of the dead and the last judgment. Züllig refers it only to the first resurrection, and understands the dead as the Christian martyrs who were killed, which is evidently false according to the last hemistich; besides, if they only were meant, we should not expect κριθῆναι.

And that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great (Lachmann has here the accusative with the last nouns,

after A. C., τοὺς ἁγίους κ. τοὺς φοβουμένους . . . . τοὺς μικροὺς κ. τοὺς μεγάλους, which, if it be the original, can only be considered a grammatical inaccuracy proceeding from great negligence on the part of the writer).

And shouldest destroy them which destroyed the earth. We might take the latter, who desolated the earth, caused it and its inhabitants to perish by their tyrannies; comp. Is. xiv. 20 (of the king of Babylon), כִּי אַרְצְךָ שִׁחַתָּ עַמְּךָ הָרָגְתָּ. But it is more probably meant in a moral sense, who destroyed the earth by their tempting to idolatry and to vices of all kinds; comp. xix. 2, ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην, ἥτις ἔφθειρε τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς.

Verse 19. *And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen,* appeared, *in his temple, the ark of the testimony of the Lord.* The received text has αὐτοῦ (after διαθήκης) and Lachmann also; instead of it, Griesbach, as well as the Compl., &c., have τοῦ κυρίου, according to 30 cursive (Acth.), Andr. 2, Areth., which is also understood of God; yet the received text is probably original. The genitive αὐτοῦ (or τοῦ κυρίου) may either refer to διαθήκης, the ark of his covenant, the covenant of the Lord, or, more probably, to the whole idea, his or the Lord's ark of the covenant. The contents of this hemistich itself, and its connection with the development of the prophecy, have been already considered in the general Introduction, and at ii. 17. There is a reference to the idea, that the ark of the covenant, which, since the destruction of the first temple by the Chaldeans, no longer existed, had not been destroyed with it, but had been previously concealed in an unknown place (by Jeremiah or Josiah), and would again come forth at the time of the Messiah. In this vision, accordingly, where the ark of the covenant was seen in the temple of God in heaven, an intimation appears to lie, that the time of the true Messianic kingdom was now come.

And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail; comp. viii. 5, xvi. 18, as in these two places, so here, such phenomena can only be meant for an inti-

mation and sign of Divine judgments upon the world; and, judging from the preceding context, of *the judgment* which should be inflicted upon the unbelieving world at the coming of the Lord. From what has preceded, we should expect that the judgment would be introduced immediately as the third and last woe, and with it the return of the Lord himself. Yet we should also expect from ch. xi., since verse 7 speaks of the beast ascending out of the pit, viz. Antichrist, that what follows should take the form of a description of the last struggle of Christ with Antichrist. And such is the case. But the prophecy, before describing these last conflicts of the Lord with Antichrist and Satan whose instrument he is, goes back to an earlier point, bringing before us

Ch. xii. 1—17,

how Satan proved himself from the beginning, even at the first appearance of the Messiah, his furious enemy, how he sought to destroy him from the first, and did not succeed, at least in destroying his church and followers. By this means the last development of the prophecy is somewhat delayed, and the strained attention of the reader to it is increased all the more.

Verse 1. *And there appeared a great wonder in heaven,* where the seer still is, and where both the occurrences of the preceding visions, and that which now follows, move before him.

A woman (apposition to σημεῖον; before γυνὴ only a comma should be put, with Lachmann and Tischendorf; not, with Griesbach and Knapp, &c., a colon) *clothed with the sun,* veiled in the sun as in a garment, denoting the clearest radiance; *and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.* This entire description appears to allude to Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10, where Joseph dreamed that the sun, moon and eleven stars, made obeisance to him, which is explained of his father, his mother and brothers. The crown of twelve stars refers to the twelve tribes of the people of God under the old covenant, which are also specially adduced in vii. 4 sqq. Hence we cannot doubt

that the woman, who is called directly the mother of the Messiah, with child, and bringing him forth, should not be understood of the bodily mother of the Lord, Mary, but of the Church of God, consisting of the twelve tribes of Israel under the Old Testament, whence proceeded the Redeemer, according to the flesh. In the Old Testament also, communities of people, lands, or cities, are frequently represented as women who are with child, and of whom citizens are born as children; comp. Is. lxvi. 7 sqq., xxiii. 4, liv. 1 sqq.; Hos. ii. 2 sqq. That this woman is here represented as treading upon the moon with her feet, serves only to denote her majestic elevation, without having an ulterior or special significance. Yet there is probably an allusion to the self-obeisance of the moon in Joseph's dream.

Verse 2. *And she was with child* (that is ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν, according to Hellenistic and Greek usage), *and cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered,* in the pains of birth. Therefore she was just about to give birth to the Son, of whom she was in travail, the Messiah, and thereupon,

Verses 3, 4. Satan considered how to destroy him. *And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold* (= namely) *a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.* δράκων, even among the ancients, is the designation of a particularly large and fearful sort of serpent, which belongs more to the world of fable and poetry than to that of fact, in the manner in which it is represented, and in Homer. That Satan is conceived under the image of a serpent, rests upon the narrative of the fall, and on the supposition that Satan was concealed in the tempting serpent. It was natural, therefore, that he should be painted as a fearful dragon. The colour of the dragon is also stated in Homer to be very red, Il. ii. 308, ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινός; ib. xi. 40, a three-headed dragon is even spoken of. So here, in a still more exaggerated way, Satan is represented as a seven-headed dragon; comp. tr. Kiddoschim, fol. xxix. 2, where it is said that a seven-headed demon appeared to R. Acha. The crowns upon the heads

serve to denote the great power and sovereignty which he exercises or has usurped. At to the horns, there is, among serpents, the Cerastes, which has upon its head two feelers in the form of small knots, described by the ancients as horns; according to a Scholion on Nicander's Thesiaca (in Wetstein), there are four-horned as well as two-horned Cerastes. Here the number, ten, of the horns is probably borrowed from the description of the beast in Dan. vii. 7.

Verse 4. *And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven*, snatched them away, *and did cast them to the earth.* The stars do not perhaps mean teachers of the Church whom Satan has corrupted, as many interpreters, also Grotius, understand; but the whole description serves merely to denote his fearful power and the huge commotion in which he restlessly, as it were, prepares to corrupt the Church of God and the Messiah. Dan. viii. 10 probably lies at the foundation, where it is said (properly of Antiochus Epiphanes), he raised himself (waxed great) even to the host of heaven (עַד־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם), and cast down (some) of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Moreover, Solinus, ch. xxx., asserts that real dragons do not hurt with their mouth and teeth, but with the stroke of their tail, in which their strength lies.

And the dragon stood before the woman (according to Pliny, viii. 3, and Solinus, l. c., dragons do not move along the ground, like other snakes, by wriggling and twisting the body, but proceed standing upright on the middle of their body) *which was ready to be delivered*, was about to bear,

To devour her child as soon as it was born.

Verse 5. *And she brought forth a man child* (υἱὸν ἄῤῥενα, according to Irenæus, xx. 15, בֵּן זָכָר. Instead of ἄῤῥενα, Lachmann has ἄρσεν, after A. C., which would be very incorrect) *who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron;* comp., on this application of the passage, Ps. ii. 9, our remarks on ii. 27. After such designation of the Son, there can be no doubt that the Messiah is meant,

as his commission is also described below (xix. 15), which passage proves that the nations are those refractory ones who obstinately oppose the will of God, and will not spontaneously submit to his anointed One. The future in μέλλει ποιμαίνειν refers not merely, as many think, to the time of the birth of the boy, but also to that of the vision itself, as the other passage (xix. 15) shows, since the ruling of the nations with a rod of iron means their treatment after being completely subjected at the coming of the Lord. It is incorrect, when Eichhorn, Heinrichs, understand by the boy here, the youthful Christian Church existing in weak infancy, after the destruction of Jerusalem and Judaism.

And her child was caught up unto God and to his throne, and so concealed from the snares of Satan, who desired to destroy him immediately after birth. This refers, without doubt, to the ascension of Christ to heaven, so that instead of personally completing his kingdom upon earth, he returns to God and the heavenly Father, and is secured against all attacks of Satan; ἁρπάζεσθαι of the sudden act of snatching by a higher power, comp. 1 Thess. iv. 17, Acts viii. 39.

Verse 6. *And the woman fled into the wilderness, where* (ὅπου . . ἐκεῖ likewise verse 14 = אֲשֶׁר...שָׁם; the received text wants ἐκεῖ, accepted by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, according to A. B. 29 cursive, Andr. 2, Areth., and so also Compl.; approved by Mill and Wolf) *she hath a place prepared of God* (ἀπὸ), *that they should feed her there* 1260 *days*, instead of, she will be nourished there for so long time, as it is said in the passive form, verse 14 (comp. Luke xii. 20, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τήν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ), Aramaically. The woman, as remarked on verse 1, is the Church of God existing among the people of Israel under the old covenant, out of which the Lord proceeded according to the flesh. It was the mother of the Messiah and the foundation of the kingdom of God in the New Testament. This agrees with the view in our book, where, as we have seen, a hope is expressed that the temple and metropolis of the old Church

would be preserved as a centre for the Messianic Church. Hence the hope is expressed here, that this Church, the mother of the Messiah, would be protected and preserved by God even after the Messiah had been carried up to heaven. Yet this cannot mean here, the mass of the Jewish nation, the fleshly seed of Israel as such, or the Jewish Church so far as it formed a contrast to the Christian and was hostile to it, but only Israel κατὰ πνεῦμα, the Church of God in Israel, which alone could be viewed as the mother of Messiah, and should enlarge itself under the new covenant merely by the admission of believing Gentiles. As to the description here, that the woman who fled into the wilderness and was nourished there by Divine care, was farther strengthened; the old history of the covenant-people floated perhaps before the mind of the writer, since they abode a long time in the wilderness after their Divine call and deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and were fed and maintained there by God in a miraculous manner till they could enter the land of promise. Perhaps, also, there was in his mind the flight of Elijah, and his miraculous feeding in the wilderness at the time of the drought in Israel (1 Kings xvii. 5 sqq.), or the flight of the Lord's bodily mother into Egypt. The former parallel is, at all events, more certain. The 1260 days are three and a half years, as it is said (verse 14) in reference to the same subject, a time and times (two times) and half a time = three and a half times = years. This can only mean a round apocalyptic number. The thought is expressed, that after the Messiah has been snatched away, the Church of God will remain for a period under Divine protection in peace, and will live, without being disturbed from without, until Satan go forth to destroy it (verse 13 sqq.). It is hardly accordant with the meaning of the book, when Züllig understands the wilderness to which the woman retires as Lydian Asia, where the Church of God was concealed from the Jews in the midst of the Gentiles. But before this,

Verses 7—12,

there is described in a very poetical form how Satan ventured to pursue the Messiah even into heaven, how he was there conquered and hurled to the earth by the champions of God, so that he could no longer approach the person of the Messiah; wherefore, conscious that it will soon be all over with his power in general, he appears with so much the greater fury, in order to destroy the mother and brethren of the Messiah still abiding here.

Verse 7. *And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon.* Michael, one of the seven angel-princes, is supposed to be the guardian angel of the people of God. As such he fights (Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1) for the people of Jehovah against the guardian-angels of the Gentiles, particularly that of Persia. He also appears in battle with Satan in Jude v. 9. So here in heaven, he is leader of the heavenly host that withstands Satan in his persecution of the Messiah transported into heaven. As to the text, the received has ἐπολέμησαν, but this is doubtless a later emendation; and the genuine is τοῦ πολεμῆσαι, as Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have, after A. C. 8 cursive; whilst B. 27 cursive, Areth. Syr. Ar. Aeth. Primas, have merely πολεμῆσαι. But this is not without difficulty grammatically; it should probably be explained as a Hebraism, as in Hebrew the gerund, even without הָיָה, is frequently put for the finite verb, therefore = לְהִלָּחֵם (they were) to fight = had to fight.

And the dragon fought and his angels = in concert with his angels, the demons, as their leader.

Verse 8. *And prevailed not*, in the fight = לֹא יָכֹל = he was defeated. The received text has ἴσχυσαν in reference to Satan and his troops, and so Tischendorf; for it, the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, &c., have the singular ἴσχυσεν, referring to the dragon personally (according to A. 26 cursive, Copt. Aeth. Andr. al.); but then in the following context also (with Compl., Bengel, Lachmann, ed. minor), instead of αὐτῶν, we must read

αὐτῷ, which the same witnesses mostly have, but not Codex A. Probably the received text is here in both respects the original one, ἴσχυσαν and αὐτῶν.

Neither was their place found any more in heaven, they could not, and durst not, tarry there any longer; for

Verse 9. *The great dragon was cast out, that old serpent*, which ever since the creation of the world has been active in destroying men; comp. 1 John iii. 8; John viii. 44: so also among later Jews (comp. in Wetstein) נָחָשׁ הַקַּדְמוֹנִי; *called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world*, who has at all times led astray the whole world into the worship of idols and all disobedience to God; σατανᾶς, the Hebrew-Aramaic appellation (חַשְׂטָן, סָטָן, סִטְנָא) by which he is described as an adversary, viz. not merely of God, but also of men, especially of the people of God. Instead of it, in the LXX., and in Hellenistic Greek generally, the usual designation is διάβολος, *calumniator*, alluding to the idea of his appearing in the Old Testament, particularly in Job i. 7, ii. 2 sqq., Zech. iii. 1, 2, as the sceptical and malicious accuser of the pious before God, who renders their virtue and piety suspicious, and seeks to induce God the Lord to inflict punishment upon them. Frequently also among the later Jews, who have adopted it for Satan, the appellation קטיגור, κατήγωρ and מְקַטְרֵג, *accusing*.

He was cast out (the verb, which is somewhat remote, is here repeated, where a closer description is meant to be added) *upon the earth, and his angels were cast out with him*; all of them excluded from heaven, and from every communication with heaven, so that he can no longer influence God against men, nor any longer harm those believers who have been snatched away from earth; it is only against those who still remain upon earth that he will immediately vent his destructive rage. For the description itself, that Satan is cast out of heaven, comp. Luke x. 18; John xii. 31.

Verse 10. *And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now*, by the expulsion of Satan out of heaven, *is come salvation, and*

strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ, because the accuser of our brethren, of the children of God among men; here are meant not so much those still living upon earth, as is usually supposed, but, according to verse 11 sqq., those believers who are already perfected, who are assembled in heaven close to the throne of God.

Which accused them before God, day and night, is cast down. κατεβλήθη is probably to be taken, cast down to the earth, not, as others, prostratus, thrown to the ground = conquered; yet it is not improbable that ἐβλήθη should be read, with Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf; Mill approves; so A. B. C. 28 cursive, Andr. 1, Areth.: but this should also be taken, according to the preceding, precipitated from heaven. Instead of the received κατήγορος, we should probably read, with Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, κατήγωρ (according to Codex A.), which R. Bentley, Mill, and Bengel in the Gnomon, approve, as well as Ewald, &c. It is a form which does not appear elsewhere in Greek, but, as already remarked, was received into the Rabbinic, קטיגור.

Verse 11. *And they,* our brethren, *overcame him,* and so effected his expulsion, *by the blood of the Lamb,* by the atoning death of their Lord, whereby he redeemed them from the power of Satan, and purchased them for God (comp. i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14), *and by the word of their testimony,* by the confession which they fearlessly bore for the Redeemer, and their faith in him.

And they loved not their lives unto the death, they risked everything in their confession of the Lord, and in zeal for his cause, so that they were ready to expose themselves even to death, and therefore effected that Satan is not heard by God, with his accusation against them; yea, has no access to God (διὰ with the accusative, as iv. 10). Upon οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν, compare Luke xiv. 26, μισεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ; comp. Acts xx. 24.

Verse 12. *Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them,* particularly the believers who are already perfected, who

are also removed from all the attacks and persecutions of Satan.

Woe to the earth and the sea (the received text, τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν γῆν κ. τὴν θάλασσαν, is a gloss out of τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, which the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., have, according to B. C. 28 cursive, or more; Syr. Arr. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Andr. 2, Areth. Prim.), *because Satan is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time,* that only a short time will be allowed him here to exercise his wicked power, till he shall be subdued and bound by Christ at his coming.

Verses 13—17.

Verse 13. *And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman, which brought forth the man-child*; see upon this above, at verse 6, and so also for the following.

Verse 14. *And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place,* where she (ὅπου . . ἐκεῖ, as in verse 6) *is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the serpent.*

Verse 15. *And the serpent cast,* shot, *out of his mouth, water as a flood, after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood.*

Verse 16. *And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.* Manifestly a very poetical description, referring to the protection which the Church of the Lord will find, through divine providence, against the attacks of Satan, in which individual things are not to be urged as though they expressed special thoughts. It alludes, without doubt, to the deliverance of the people of God at the time of Moses. The stream of water which the dragon discharges against the woman, in order to carry her away, but which the earth sucks in so that it does not harm her at all, corresponds to the water of the Red

Sea, which impeded the people of Israel in their flight, and might easily have swallowed them up, but which was obliged to recede before them; the furnishing the woman with eagles' wings probably alludes to Exod. xix. 4, where Jehovah causes Moses to say to the Israelites, that they had seen what he did to the Egyptians, and how he had borne his people on eagles' wings (עַל־כַּנְפֵי נְשָׁרִים) and brought them to himself; comp. Deut. xxxii. 11, 12, "As an eagle fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings, so the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange God with him." The article alone causes some difficulty here, τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου. Ewald (earlier) explains it as a mere paraphrase of the superlatives = aquilæ maximæ. Yet it is not improbable that it is an allusion to something definite, perhaps to an image or symbol used in an ancient writing now lost. Züllig thinks the article should be explained by the allusion to the eagle named in those passages of the Pentateuch; but this is not very satisfactory. Bengel and Lachmann have received the article αἱ before δύο, according to A. 5 cursive, Andr. Syr.; yet this makes no difference in the meaning. The manner in which the apocalyptic time of three and a half years is paraphrased, on which see on verse 6, is borrowed from the book of Daniel, vii. 25 (עִדָּן וְעִדָּנִין וּפְלַג עִדָּן), xii. 7 (לְמוֹעֵד מוֹעֲדִים וָחֲצִי). Besides, this is exactly the same period of time as that during which, according to xi. 2, 3, the treading under foot of the holy city by the Gentiles, and the prophetic agency of the two witnesses, was to last. But here it does not refer to the same relations and the same times, as Ebrard, for example, assumes; but to the time immediately after the ascent of Christ to heaven, which the seer himself had already behind him. The former, on the contrary, refers to a time still future, before the appearing of the Lord. As to the words ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως, verse 14 end, one may doubt with what they are to be connected. Grotius, Vitringa, De Wette (Translation), and others, connect them with πέτηται, "that she fled before the serpent," &c. Yet it is more probable, as Bengel, De Wette

(Commentary), Hengstenberg, think, that they should be connected with what immediately precedes, ὅπου τρέφεται κ. λ. = where she is nourished (in safety) from the serpent; the case is here precisely as מִפְּנֵי, Judges ix. 21, "And Jotham ran away, and fled, and went to Beer, and dwelt there," מִפְּנֵי אֲבִימֶלֶךְ = remote, secure, "from fear of Abimelech his brother." ποταμοφόρητος is not a word which occurs elsewhere, but is rightly compounded, after the analogy of ἀνεμοφόρητος.

Verse 17. *And the dragon was wroth with the woman*, with the Church of God, because he was not able to destroy her; *and he went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus.* On this latter designation, see viii. 9 and xix. 10. The whole description leads to the idea that Christians on earth are meant, chiefly Jewish Christians, believing Jews, who are here considered as the stem of the Lord's confessors, with whom are joined the believing Gentiles, so that they also are not excluded. These believers are described as the remnant of the seed of the woman, evidently with reference to the Messiah born of her, according to the preceding context; therefore the meaning is, that Satan, after having pursued the Messiah into heaven in vain, and endeavouring entirely to swallow up the Church of God on earth, now aimed at overcoming and destroying at least individual followers of the Lord on earth. For this object he makes use of two instruments, which the seer now paints as they presented themselves to him in vision, Antichrist and the false prophet. Antichrist is first introduced.

Verse 18—ch. xiii. 10.

See the general Introduction (pp. 83 sqq.) on the idea of Antichrist in general, on the dependence of his portrait in the Apocalypse upon the delineation in the book of Daniel, on the modification of this idea in the Apocalypse, and on the relation of the Apocalypse in this respect to other writings of the New Testament, &c.

Verse 18. Here the reading is doubtful. The received text has ἐστάθην, the first person alluding to the seer; *and I was placed*, and stood, *on the sand of the sea.* For it, the third singular ἐστάθη is in Cod. A. C. Syr. Ar. Pol. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Tychon. Victorin; and so the editions Aldine and Lachmann, approved by Piscator, Junius, Mill, R. Bentley and others. This would refer to the dragon, and indicate that he, standing there upon the sand of the sea, had observed the approach of his satellite, Antichrist. But earlier interpreters rightly remarked against this, that it is not at all probable the seer would have represented the dragon so quietly watching or waiting; especially as he does not appear prominently in the following visions where Antichrist is described. The received text is therefore most probably the original. The seer is transferred in vision from heaven to earth, to the shore of the sea, because, like the beast, Antichrist ascends out of the sea. In Dan. viii. 2, x. 4 also, water is described as the standpoint of the vision's reception.

Ch. xiii. 1. *And I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of Blasphemy.* Daniel vii. 3 also sees four great beasts ascending out of the sea, which represent the four world-monarchies, and this lies at the foundation here; whether it refers at the same time to the situation of Rome, the Roman capital, on the other side of the sea (from the standpoint of the writer), as Ewald thinks, is at least doubtful, although not quite improbable. The number of heads and horns is the same on this beast as on the dragon (xii. 3); yet he has ten crowns upon his ten horns, whereas the dragon has seven crowns upon his seven heads. That depicts the horns as individual worldly powers, as is expressly stated in xvii. 12. For the signification of the seven heads of this beast, see ib. 9.

Instead of the received ὄνομα, which Züllig and De Wette maintain, we should probably read, with Compl., Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ὀνόματα, after A. B. 31 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Vulg. Areth.; comp. xvii. 3, where this beast himself is denoted

as γέμον ὀνομάτων βλασφημίας. Probably Dan. vii. 8, xi. 36, lie at the foundation of this, where it is said of the enemy of Jehovah and his people, that he has spoken presumptuous things, blasphemies, against the God of gods. This is here modified in such a manner that the beast himself bare upon his heads the name of Blasphemy (viz. against God), meaning, most probably, inscriptions, in which the beast and his heads were described, not merely as rulers of the earth, but even as *God* and *Gods*, names which the Roman emperors of the time assumed.

Verse 2. *And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear* (received text, ἄρκτου; for which Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have ἄρκου, according to A. B. C. 21 cursive, Andr. 1; ἄρκτος is the older form, for which the later ἄρκος is more usual, in LXX. and among the later Greeks), *and his mouth as the mouth of a lion.* The external form of the beast appears compounded of that of the four beasts in Dan. vii., of which the first is a lion, the second a bear, the third a leopard, and the fourth has ten horns.

And the dragon gave him his power, and his throne, and great authority; so that he can appear and act with the whole power of Satan as his instrument.

Verse 3. The εἶδον, which the received text has at the beginning after καὶ, is wanting in A. B. C. 28 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. MS. Andr. 1, Areth. Latin Fathers; omitted by Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. It is without doubt a later insertion (see Delitzsch handschriftliche Funde, 1st ed., according to which, εἶδον emanated from Erasmus's pen), not put by the writer himself, but to be supplied from the preceding context.

And one of his heads, as it were, wounded to death, and his deadly wound, his fatal wound (that is, ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ where the genitive of the pronoun refers to the whole preceding idea, according to the Hebrew idiom, not merely to τοῦ θανάτου) *was healed.* Therefore the beast himself appeared fatally struck by the wound of one of his heads, but recovered again, contrary

to all appearance. What this means follows clearly from the context, and has been already explained in the general Introduction, l. c.

And all the world wondered after the beast; a pregnant mode of expression, instead of, full of wonder at this event, the recovery of the beast, the whole earth followed him. Recovery contributed to procure him a large following on earth.

Verse 4. *And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast; and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast, and who is able to make war with him?* who ventures to contend with him? The verb προσκυνεῖν has here (according to the received text) the accusative with it twice, for which the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., put the dative; the first time, according to A. B. C. 33 cursive, Andr. Areth.; the second time, according to B. C. 29 cursive, Areth.; both are admissible. Among the older Greeks, the verb is found only with the accusative; but among the later, with the dative also; so the LXX. and New Testament in both ways; perhaps the second time, the accusative τὸ θηρίον should also be retained here; as in verse 8 the accusative has the best testimony for it.

Verse 5. *And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies.* μεγάλα are presumptuous things, in which he elevated himself above every one, after Dan. vii. 8, 20, פֶּם מְמַלֵּל רַבְרְבָן; comp. Ps. xii. 4, לְשׁוֹן מְדַבֶּרֶת גְּדֹלוֹת. The ἐδόθη implies that he was permitted by God himself to use his mouth in such manner, for the time of his working in general.

And it was given him to continue forty-two months, to work. Here the reading is not certain. The received text has πόλεμον ποιῆσαι. Of this, πόλεμον is certainly not genuine. It is a gloss from verse 7, and is wanting in A. C. 4 cursive, codd., &c., Syr. Vulg. Andr. Prim.; omitted in editions of Erasmus, Stephens, 3, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. Some testimonies also omit ποιῆσαι, which Mill and Bengel, in the Gnomon, approve. Yet it is probably genuine. One may explain it either by strictly including in it the time, *to pass, to spend,* forty-

two months, as ποιεῖν frequently means; so ποιεῖν χρόνον τινά, Acts xviii. 23, James iv. 13, &c.; or by taking ποιεῖν by itself, like עָשָׂה frequently, especially in the book of Daniel, *to effect, to succeed;* for example, Dan. viii. 24, וְהִצְלִיחַ וְעָשָׂה, xi. 28, 30, 32. The forty-two months or three-and-a-half years are again taken from the book of Daniel, on which see at xi. 2.

Verse 6. *And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle* where God dwells, meaning here, without doubt, not the temple in Jerusalem, but heaven.

And them that dwell in heaven, have their abode there with God, such as Christ, the angels, and perfected believers; comp. for the verse Dan. vii. 25, "And he shall speak great words against the Most High."

Verse 7. *And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them.* These words, καὶ ἐδόθη . . νικῆσαι, are wanting in A. C. 3 cursive, Andr. Iren., and are omitted by Lachmann; but they have probably been left out merely by an error in copying, the eye of the transcriber having wandered from the former καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ directly to the second; *and power was given him over all kindreds, and people, and tongues, and nations.*

Verse 8. *And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose name is not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;* comp. xvii. 8, καὶ θαυμάσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. The comparison of this passage leaves no doubt that the words ἀπὸ καταβ· κόσμου are not to be connected with ἐσφαγμένου, as Herder, Eichhorn, and earlier Protestant interpreters think; but, as Arethas supposes, with γέγραπται, which, even without that, is the only natural connection. It refers to the fact, that the believers who become partakers of salvation were chosen before by God. The book of life, on which see iii. 5, is here called the Lamb's, as if it were kept by him or belonged to him, his saints being registered in it. See v. 12, on the epithet τὸ ἐσφαγμένον for the Lamb.

Verse 9. *If any man have an ear, let him hear;* similarly to the conclusion of the epistles, ii. 3, ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Here he is to attend to the following proverbial saying, which asserts that all who practise violence against their fellow-men will be recompensed in the same manner.

Verse 10. *He that leadeth into captivity;* in αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγει is contained the abstract instead of the concrete, as in the Hebrew שְׁבִי and גָּלוּת (for example, הַגְלָה גָלוּת, Amos i. 6). Yet the reading here is not certain. Lachmann, ed. min., has εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγει; ed. maj. and Tischendorf, εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν (without the verb), which would then be supplied; perhaps that is the correct reading. In the codd. great diversity prevails, but without affecting the meaning. *Shall go into captivity; he that killeth with the sword must* (he again) *be killed with the sword;* comp. Gen. ix. 6, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." This refers, without doubt, to the beast and his followers, as a consolation for the saints who are persecuted by them, but who find here opportunity and exhortation to prove their perseverance and faith. The following words intimate this: *here is* = here is shown, *the patience and the faith of the saints,* that they are not alienated from their faith by this conduct of the beast, are not led astray by him; comp. xiv. 12, ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστὶν, οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ; xiii. 18, ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν; xvii. 9, ὧδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν.

Verses 11—17.

Description of a second beast, the false prophet. Upon it also see the general Introduction, both concerning the idea in relation to Antichrist, as well as the relation which the description in our book bears to other writings of the New Testament (see pp. 100 sqq.).

Verse 11. *And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth.* That he does not ascend, like the preceding, out of the sea, but out of the earth, should probably not be urged, nor has the matter a special symbolic signification. Ewald finds an intimation in

it that he will not come from Rome, but will appear on the firm land of Asia itself; he thinks that the writer has in view a definite person, who might have disturbed the region he inhabited, by pointing to Nero who should soon return as a god. Both are at least highly problematical; and this assumption is by no means necessary or probable, as far as the description in our book and also the present time in verses 12—17 are concerned.

And he had two horns like a lamb = like the horns of a lamb, so that he appeared a not very powerful, a harmless beast, of which one need not be afraid; comp. Matt. vii. 15, προσέχετε ἀπο τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσι λύκοι ἅρπαγες.

And he spake as a dragon; cunning and crafty to lead men astray; as Satan, under the form of a serpent, tempted the first pair.

Verse 12. *And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him.* This can only mean, notwithstanding his lamb-like form, he exercises all the power which the first beast, Antichrist, has, and which Satan lent to the latter; and that *before the same,* that is, before his eyes and in his service; comp. verse 14, τὰ σημεῖα, ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου; xix. 20, ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ σημεῖα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ.

And causeth the earth, and them that dwell therein, that is, determines, induces them (the same construction in iii. 9, ποιήσω αὐτοὺς, ἵνα ἥξουσι κ. προσκυνήσουσι), *to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed* (comp. verse 3).

Verse 13. *And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth, in the sight of men,* before the eyes of them all, as the powerful prophet Elijah did (1 Kings xviii. 38; 2 Kings i. 10—12), imitating the latter in his agency. The reading here is not certain, although the difference has no essential influence on the meaning. Like Griesbach, the Compl. has the ἵνα after καὶ πῦρ, and καταβαίνῃ instead of ποιῇ καταβαίνειν. Yet the received reading has more authority for

it; and Knapp, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have retained it; only, instead of καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, they substitute ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν. Then it is, *he doeth great wonders, so that he even causeth fire to descend from heaven upon the earth, before men.* This is probably the original; so A. C. 4 cursive, Vulg. Iren. Primas.

Verse 14. *And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth,* he tempts, *by those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth,* summoning them, bidding them, *that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live again;* this is ἔζησε. The description of the wound by which the beast appeared to die, as a sword-wound, refers to the actual manner of Nero's death, as already remarked in the general Introduction. The ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα is here meant of such images as were erected to gods in their honour; so the Roman emperors caused images to be erected, to which divine honour was to be paid; the false prophet will seduce men to pay such idolatry to Antichrist.

Verse 15. *And it was given to him,* permitted, he received the power (instead of αὐτῷ, Lachmann has αὐτῇ, according to A. C., which is probably only an accidental error in writing, and must be viewed in this light, though it may have been found so in the autograph), *to give life* (the spirit of life) *unto the image of the beast,* to animate it, *so that the image of the beast even spake, and caused* (in ποιήσῃ, the false prophet is not the subject, as Eichhorn thinks, but the image of the beast, as Ewald, Züllig, De Wette, rightly) *that all who did not worship the image of the beast were killed.* It is possible that this representation depends upon something founded on fact, on tricks which impostors perhaps had at times practised to deceive the people by the statues of gods or emperors. Yet nothing definite can be shown about it. At any rate it is described here only prophetically, how much the powers of darkness should be effectual in procuring worshippers to Antichrist; comp. 2 Thess. ii. 9 sqq.

Verse 16. *And he caused all, both small and great, rich and*

poor, free and bond, to make a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads. Instead of the received δώσῃ, which would refer to the false prophet, we should read, with the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and others, the plural δῶσιν, according to A. B. C. 10 cursive, Andr. 1 (24 cursive, Arethas, have δώσουσιν or δώσωσιν); but this does not mean, as De Wette, Züllig, &c., suppose, that one should make for them = that it should be made for them; but the πάντες are themselves the subject = he induces them to make for themselves, αὐτοῖς = ἑαυτοῖς. So rightly Grotius. χάραγμα denotes in general something imprinted, an engraved mark; and, from what follows, the name of the beast is doubtless meant here, by whose imprint on the right hand or forehead they are indicated as belonging to the beast; comp. on vii. 2. Instead of τῶν μετώπων, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have τὸ μέτωπον, which Mill also approves (so A. 25 cursive, Hippol. Aeth. Iren. Copt. Arm. τοῦ μετώπου C.); ἐπὶ is then immediately connected in succession with the genitive and the accusative. Both constructions are in this connection conformable to Greek usage; for example, γράφειν ἐπί τι and ἐπί τινος; see my Commentar zum Hebräerbrief, viii. 10, p. 456.

Verse 17. (*And*, the καὶ is wanting in C. 3 cursive, Syr. Arr. Copt. Vulg. MS. Iren. Prim. Andr. 1, Hippol.; omitted by Bengel and Lachmann) *that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, namely, the name of the beast, or the number of his name,* viz. that only those who marked themselves as his servants and worshippers may carry on social intercourse in the state, and generally exist. The received reading has ἤ before τὸ ὄνομα, which is certainly spurious. It is wanting in A. B. C. and about 30 cursive, Andr. Areth., in the Commentary of Hippol. Syr. Ar. Pol. Itall.; is omitted by Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c. Lachmann has also τοῦ ὀνόματος, the mark of his name, according to C. Syr. Vulg. It. Andr. 1, Iren. Primas. Yet τὸ ὄνομα is probably the original, this like ἤ τὸν ἀριθμον κ. λ., forming an explanatory apposition to τὸ χάραγμα. The number of the name can only

mean, a number which lies in the name, and such a one as results from taking the letters of the name together viewed as ciphers, since, considering the extent of the number (verse 18), the first letter of the name only cannot be meant.

Verse 18. *Here is wisdom,* does not mean = en sapientiam! here is deep or concealed wisdom; but, here is wisdom shown, namely, in discovering the name by the number of it just stated; therefore, here wisdom is of good avail; and correspondingly, xvii. 9, ὧδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν.

Let him that hath discernment, understanding, *count the number of the beast;* for it is ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου. This may signify, the number of a man (so Züllig and others), in which case it would imply, that it is just the name of a man, of a definite human person, whom we should think of as the beast, the Antichrist. But it may also signify, as others take it, a human number, that is, one computed precisely in the manner in which men are accustomed to reckon, as in xxi. 17, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου should be taken; comp. Is. viii. 1, "Write on the table with a man's pen." The combination of this member with the preceding by γάρ, agrees better with this latter conception. Precisely because the number is computed in the ordinary human mode, its reckoning could be attributed to human sagacity; that is, to decipherment by calculation.

And his number is (αὐτοῦ in any case referring to the beast, not to ἀνθρώπου, even if the former acceptation be adopted) χξς, that is, ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ, as also Cod. A. Compl., Lachmann, have written it out; Cod. C., ἑξακοσίαι; others, as Ed. Berg., ἑξακόσια; but the very circumstance that the codd. which have written out the number in words, differ with regard to the gender, makes it probable that it was originally written in letters for ciphers. Instead of the number 666, others, as has been already remarked in the general Introduction, have 616, which, written with letters for ciphers, would be χις. This reading is still found in Cod. C. and 11 (in both written out in words, ἑξακόσιαι δεκα ἕξ); but it was also in Greek manuscripts at the time of Irenæus (verse 30); yet

he rejects it, and says, that in omnibus antiquis et probatissimis et veteribus scripturis, the other number 666 existed, which is doubtless the correct one. For the decipherment, see the remarks offered in the general Introduction, pp. 88 sqq., where the interpretation already adduced by Irenæus is specified as the most probable; the one that Eichhorn has again made prominent in modern times, namely, that the word λατεῖνος is meant, denoting heathen Romanism. The only thing which might make one doubtful about this interpretation is the form Λατεῖνος itself, as we should rather expect Λατῖνος, which is also met with in Greek writers; and in Latin words, the *i* before a consonant is not usually changed into ει, although in Greek words the ει is changed into a long ī in Latin. Yet the former has happened in individual cases, as in Σαβεῖνος, Παυλεῖνος, Φαυστεῖνος, Παπείριος; and we may infer that the form and mode of writing Λατεῖνος was not unusual at the time among the Greeks, from the fact that such interpretation must have been already known and diffused in the Greek Church at the end of the second century; and that Irenæus also, who was by birth a Greek, probably of Asia Minor, although he does not approve of it, does not at all object to the form of the name. Of other interpretations, only one may be mentioned, because it is frequently adduced at the present time, namely, that the value of the Hebrew letters in the name of the emperor Nero is meant, קֵסַר נֵרוֹן or נֵרוֹן קֵסַר. According to this mode of writing, the letters, in conformity with their value in Hebrew, certainly give this sum, ק = 100, ס = 60, ר = 200, נ = 50, ר = 200, ו = 6, נ = 50. Ferd. Benary brought forward this interpretation in Bruno Bauer's Zeitschrift für speculative Theol., Vol. I. H. ii. (Berlin, 1836), pp. 205, 206. Next, Hitzig declared, in his Ostern und Pfingsten, Sendschreiben an Ideler (Heidelb. 1837), p. 3, that he had already developed the same interpretation in his lectures on the Apocalypse, in the summer of 1836, intimating that it could easily have reached Benary (by means of a travelling Dom-candidat). Against this, Benary justified himself, and claimed the priority (Hall. Allgem. K. Z. 1837, Aug.). Benary

means, that the other reading, 616, refers to the same name, only to Nero written (נרו) in the Roman manner, without ן at the end, by which fifty less comes out. In like manner, Ed. Reuss, of Strasburg (Hallische A. K. Z. 1837, Intell.-Bl. September), asserts that he also had already made it public, so that it may have been derived from him by report. It had escaped them, however, that Fritzsche had anticipated them, and developed the same interpretation six years before, in the "Annalen der gesammten theolog. Litteratur under der christlichen Kirche überhaupt Jahrg. I. Bd. iii. H. 1 (Coburg and Leipzig, 1831), pp. 42—64." Thus these four scholars appear to have hit upon the interpretation, quite independently of one another, a circumstance that appears to speak greatly in its favour. It is also very suitable in itself, and corresponds with the scope of the book. Yet I do not believe it correct, especially (*a*) because it is unlikely in itself that the value of Hebrew letters should lie at the basis of this number; see, upon this, the general Introduction (p. 88); (*b*) because in Jewish writings (for example, Thalm. Babyl. Gittin. fol. lvi. 1), both the name of Nero נירון as well as קיסר is written with a yod after the first consonant. It might have been probably absent from the name of Nero, but not well from קיסר, since it is here derived from the Greek Καισαρ. Besides, (*c*) it does not in general appear natural that Antichrist should be described here as a single Roman emperor, since he still appears as the beast with the seven horns; it is not made a prominent feature till afterwards, that he is concentrated, as it were, in one of these horns. Therefore I hold the other and older interpretation = Λατεῖνος, as decidedly more probable. Ewald held also (earlier) that the interpretation Λατεῖνος should be assumed for the number 666 (now, however, קסר נרון); yet he appears very much inclined to hold the other reading, 616, as the correct one, and interprets it קיסר רום (100 + 10 + 60 + 200 + 200 + 6 + 40 = 616). For reference to various other interpretations, see Wolf, curæ ad h. l. (pp. 545—551); Hartwig, Apologie (II. pp. 201—224); Heinrichs, Excurs. IV. (Tom. II. pp. 235—265); De Wette. As

singular interpretations, and to be cited only for curiosity's sake, are those of the modern commentators Züllig and Hengstenberg. Züllig holds decidedly that בִּלְעָם בֶּן בְּעֹר הַקֹּסֵם, Balaam, the son of Beor, the soothsayer, is meant, as he is found in Joshua xiii. 22, where, however, both the last words are written with ו, בִּעוֹר קוֹסְמִי. Even apart from this, the interpretation is entirely improbable. The same remark holds good, in a greater degree, of Hengstenberg's interpretation, proposed with great confidence. He thinks or knows, according to the passage, Ezra ii. 13, where in the enumeration of the Jews who returned from captivity, it is said, "The children of Adonikam, 666," that the name Adonikam is meant, which, according to its etymological signification, "the Lord arises," is peculiarly appropriate as a name of Antichrist.

Ch. xiv. 1—5.

The seer relates farther what was presented to him in vision, namely, the company of the 144,000 chosen ones who stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion, and praise God with a new song resounding through heaven. These are they who (vii. 3 sqq.) are marked with the seal of God on their foreheads; wherefore it is said here (verse 1), that they bear the name of God and the Lamb on their foreheads. See on ch. vii. for a difficulty which the relation of our passage to ch. vii. occasions; since, in the former the 144,000 are only considered as believers of the Jewish nation, to which is there added an innumerable company out of other nations; whereas here they appear to be the number of all the chosen ones. Moreover, this vision does not make any advance in the unveiling of the future; nor should it, as many earlier interpreters think, be referred to definite occurrences or periods in the later history of the Church. It relates here only to the purity and blessedness of the servants of God in general, in contrast with men of the world who are tempted to worship Antichrist. They are again adduced here for that purpose.

Verse 1. *And I looked, and behold, the Lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and with him* 144,000, *having his and his Father's name*

written on their foreheads. The words αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα are wanting in the received text (i.e. merely the name of his Father), but are in eds. Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c.; are found in A. B. C. 34 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Orig. Method. Andr. Areth. Latin Fathers, and are without doubt genuine, having been left out only by an accidental mistake in writing, caused by the Homoioteleuton. In Mount Sion, we are not, with Ewald, Züllig, Hengstenberg, to imagine the heavenly Sion, but the temple hill in the holy city, which is indicated here as the place of assembling for the servants of God.

Verse 2. *And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice,* the rushing, *of many waters,* of great waters, *and as the voice,* the sound, *of great thunder.* The ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ also shows that the standpoint of the seer is not in heaven; and this favours the fact that we have not to seek Sion in heaven as the place where he sees the Lamb and the servants of God. But the voice resounds from heaven in such a manner as that those servants of God hear it on Mount Sion, and so learn, from heaven itself, to praise God worthily, for it is the praise of God which is heard here.

And the voice which I heard was like that of harpers who play on their harps, namely, who sing with the accompaniment of harps. So in v. 8 sqq. it is said, that the four cherubim and the twenty-four elders, having harps, sang a new song (in praise of the Lamb). It is not mentioned who the singers here are, but evidently heavenly hosts are meant, angels, who sing before the Divine throne.

Verse 3. *And they sung* (as it were) *a new song before the throne* (of God), *and before the four beasts, and the elders.* The received ὡς (before ᾠδὴν) is omitted by Griesbach and Tischendorf, as well as by the Compl., Bengel, according to B. 27 cursive, Orig. Method. Andr. 2, Areth. Vulg. Latin Fathers; Syr. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Ar. Yet it can be less easily imagined how it came into the text, than the converse; with ὡς (and so A. C. al. Vulg., Lachmann) it means, what they sang appeared as a new song.

And no man could learn that song, so that he might appropriate it to himself and be able to sing it after the heavenly hosts.

But the 144,000, *which were redeemed from the earth,* namely, to God, as his own; comp. v. 9, ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματι σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς κ. λ. We may either understand by the ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, redeemed from the earth, purchased from it, since they belonged before to it as its property; or, merely, redeemed out of the number of the inhabitants of the earth. It makes no essential difference in the meaning; but the latter is the more probable; verse 4, ἠγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. v. 9, ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς κ. λ.; comp. John xv. 19, ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.

Verse 4. *These are they which were not defiled with women, for they are* παρθένοι, virgin-like. It cannot be believed that this is meant of unmarried life (as, among others, Neander, Apostol. Zeitalter, 3rd ed. ii. 543 Anm.); although the writer, as was already the case with many Christians in that age, may have laid great weight upon celibacy. But we cannot conceive that he meant to denote the entire company of chosen believers as those who had wholly renounced the marriage state. It can only refer to abstinence from all unchastity and whoredom, which is supposed to be the constant accompaniment of the worship of idols, both in the Apocalypse and the Bible. On the contrary, it is taken by Züllig too generally, as denoting those who are in every respect pure, and distinguished for every kind of pious duty. παρθένοι, which is also used among church writers with reference to the masculine gender, alludes here only to disposition, *virgin-like.*

These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, who are not afraid to follow their Lord even unto death.

These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb. They are not described in contrast with others who should be won over to the kingdom of God subsequently (as Grotius, Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Züllig, Ebrard and others, take it), but, in general, as those who are separated from

the mass of humanity and consecrated to God and the Lamb, just as the first-fruits were separated as a consecrated gift.

Verse 5. *And in their mouth was found no guile* (ψεῦδος should be read, on preponderating testimony, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c.; the received δόλος was probably occasioned by Is. liii. 9, LXX., or 1 Peter ii. 22).

For they are without fault; ἄμωμοι = תְּמִימִים, as the sacrifice offered to God must be perfect. The received reading adds, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ, which, from external evidence, is decidedly spurious; and is rightly omitted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c.

Verses 6—13.

Three angels appear successively, and then a voice from heaven with announcements, admonitions and threatenings, referring to the impending judgment and the blessedness of those who fell asleep in the Lord. First,

(*a*) Verses 6, 7. An angel, who again summons all nations in reference to the gospel, to worship and adore the Creator of the world.

And I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven; upon ἐν μεσουρανήματι, see viii. 13. The ἄλλον is wanting in B. 25 cursive, Orig. Andr. 2, Areth. Ambr. Ar. Pol.; left out in eds. of Erasmus, 1, 2, 3, Colin. As no individual angel was spoken of immediately before, it is unsuitable that this one should be described as ἄλλος; besides which, the angel (in verse 8) who appears after this one is called expressly ἄλλος δεύτερος, according to the probably genuine reading; and another, the third one, who appears in verse 9, is called ἄλλος τρίτος. It is therefore probably spurious, and originated perhaps in x. 1, although it has A. C. in its favour, and is retained by Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf.

Having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.

After εὐαγγελίσαι, we should probably adopt, with Lachmann and Tischendorf, the preposition ἐπί, according to A. B. C. 33 cursive, Orig.; as the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, &c., have received the same preposition before πᾶν ἔθνος, according to A.B.C. 25 cursive, Orig. Andr. 2, Areth. Vulg. Syr. This construction, εὐαγγελίσαι τι ἐπὶ τινα, is not used elsewhere, but signifies the threatening character which this gospel—so joyful for believers—has towards the nations of the world, since it at the same time announces the judgment threatening the world. It is described as an everlasting gospel, both because it was determined upon by God from eternity, and because it will make good its power to all eternity.

Verse 7. *Saying, with a loud voice, Fear God and give glory to him,* worshipping him as the Lord alone, not the beast, Antichrist; *for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.* The true living God of the covenanted nation is frequently designated in the Old Testament as the Creator of heaven and earth, in contrast with the lifeless gods of the heathen.

(*b*) Verse 8. A second angel, who announces beforehand the fall of the great Babylon as having already happened, which is described farther on. That this Babylon does not mean Jerusalem, but Rome, pagan Rome, to which the older Church Fathers refer it,—for example, Tertullian, adv. Marc. iii. 13 al., Jerome on Is. xlvii. &c.,—may be seen from the general Introduction, p. 88. Rome is described as Babylon, because it showed itself at that time quite as hostile and persecuting to the people of God as the ancient Babylon did to the people of the old covenant.

And there followed another angel, saying; after ἄλλος should be read, with Lachmann, Tischendorf, δεύτερος, according to A. B. 25 cursive, Syr. Andr. 1, Areth. (the same word is after ἄγγελος, in C. 12 cursive, Copt. Arm. Andr.; eds. Compl., Bengel, al.); comp. ἄλλος δεύτερος, Eurip. Troad. 614.

Babylon is fallen, is fallen the great, after Is. xxi. 9, נָפְלָה נָפְלָה בָבֶל; comp. Jer. li. 8; ἡ πόλις, in the received text, after Βαβυλὼν, is wanting in A. B. C. 32 cursive, as well as Compl.,

Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c.; comp. Dan. iv. 27, בָּבֶל רַבְּתָא.

Because she (or *which*, after Compl., Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ἥ, according to A. C. 10 cursive, Syr. Aeth. Vulg.) *made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication*, saturated them with it. οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ properly corresponds to the Hebrew יֵין הַחֵמָה, Jer. xxv. 15; comp. כּוֹס חֲמָתוֹ, Is. li. 17. It stands there for the cup or wine of the anger of God, with which he is represented intoxicating the nations in his fury, so that they reel and stagger as it were, drunk with his rage; comp. Lament. iv. 21, Ps. lxxv. 9, Job xxi. 20; such is the image immediately below, verse 10 and xvi. 19. The same image is found in Hab. ii. 15 sqq., referring to men who plunge others into ruin through their fury. It is somewhat different here and in xviii. 3. With the image another is blended which is frequently found in the prophets, where conspicuous idolatrous cities, which trade with other towns and nations and operate prejudicially upon them in a moral aspect so that the latter are seduced to the worship of idols, are described as unchaste women, who seek to entice others or debauch themselves with them; so especially Jerusalem, Ezek. xvi. 15 sqq.; Tyre, Is. xxiii. 15—17; Nineveh, Nahum iii. 4 sqq. So below (xvii. 2 sqq.). θυμὸς cannot mean here *anger*, neither the anger of God (as De Wette supposes), nor that of the great Babylon itself (as Hengstenberg), but is only an adjectival definition of the wine itself, fiery wine, intoxicating wine. In several earlier editions (Erasmus, 1, 2, 3, therefore, not translated by Luther), Colin. Berg., it is entirely omitted, which Mill approves; it might very well be wanting; yet external witnesses are not favourable to the omission; and xviii. 3 speaks for it. The following genitive τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς is dependent on the whole idea τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ (the fierce wine of their whoredom), and is explicative, since the whoredom itself, meaning doubtless the worship of idols, is precisely the intoxicating thing with which she drugs all nations; which she has spread abroad among them, as it were, by mixing with them. Jer. li.

7 sqq. floated here not improbably before the writer, "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad. Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed."

(*c*) Verses 9—12. A third angel, who threatens eternal punishment to all that worship the beast and his image.

And the third angel followed them, saying, with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark (namely that of the beast mentioned xiii. 16 sqq.) *on his forehead, or on his right hand,*

Verse 10. *The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God;* the καὶ αὐτὸς probably means, as Ewald thinks, he also, as well as Babylon; otherwise the καὶ must be considered merely as a hebraizing beginning of the apodosis.

Which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου forms an oxymoron; κεράννυμι denotes the usual mixing of wine with water, as a drink among the ancients, for the southern wine was considered too thick and heating to be drunk otherwise; so οἶνος ἄκρατος is unmixed wine, not diluted with water, therefore very strong and easily intoxicating. But the verb κεραννύναι is used among later writers generally of the preparation and pouring out of the wine to be drunk, even where it was not mixed (see Wetstein, ad h. l., Passow s. v.); and so it is doubtless to be taken in xviii. 6, and here. It is incorrect, when Grotius and others, also Gesenius on Is. v. 22, Hengstenberg, interpret, to mix with spices, to pepper, and thereby to make it more heating and intoxicating; still more incorrect, when Züllig, h. l., understands οἶνος ἄκρατος of a mere mixed essence, without wine; heating drops, which served to strengthen the wine, but are here served without the wine, as a drink extremely strong and stupefying.

And he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb.

Verse 11. *And the smoke of their torment* = the smoke of the fire and brimstone with which they are tormented, *ascendeth up*

for ever and ever, designating the continuance of their torment. The description of Edom's destruction, Is. xxxiv. 9 sqq., probably lies at the foundation, "And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; *the smoke thereof shall go up for ever*;" comp. ib. lxvi. 24, where it is said of the dead bodies of the men who had deserted Jehovah, "their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched."

And they have no rest, from their torment, *day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.*

Verse 12. Comp. xiii. 10. *Here* (is shown) *the patience of the saints, who keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus* (= in Jesus, or which he has given over to them to keep); these have an opportunity of proving that they have no participation in the worship of the beast. οἱ τηροῦντες is apposition to τῶν ἁγίων; the second ὧδε, which the received text has before οἱ τηροῦντες, is decidedly spurious, according to external evidence; it is omitted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, which Mill approves.

(*d*) Verse 13. Again a heavenly voice, which pronounces those happy who have fallen asleep in the Lord; to comfort such believers as had died before the coming of the Lord.

And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth, even now. There is much controversy about the construction and meaning of the ἀπάρτι; but doubtless it should not, as some codices and editions have it, be connected with what follows, but with what precedes; not with ἀποθνήσκοντες, as Züllig, for example, thinks (with reference to the great calamity impending, which they escape), but with μακάριοι. Nor should it, with L. Bos., be written ἀπαρτί = perfecte, plane, omnino; but ἀπάρτι, or (with Tischendorf) ἀπ' ἄρτι = from this time forth, that is, even now, as ἀπ' ἄρτι in John xiii. 19. The ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐν κυρίῳ are not merely Christian martyrs, as

Beza, Vitringa, and even Züllig suppose, but the followers of the Lord in general, who die in faith in Jesus and in his communion, as 1 Thess. iv. 16, οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ; 1 Cor. xv. 18, οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ. Even the apostle Paul was obliged to comfort the Christians at Thessalonica, on account of the fate of those who died from among them without living to see the return of the Lord; he says that they should not be behind those who are still alive. The same are here described as even now to be counted happy, since they have come into closer union with the Lord, and are freed from all affliction and persecution upon earth.

Yea, saith the spirit, τὸ πνεῦμα, as ii. 7, 11, 17, 20, &c., 1 Tim. iv. 1; the spirit of prophecy, which here, by way of confirmation, pronounces its Amen; Eichhorn incorrectly supposes the spirits of the dead.

They shall rest from their labours, from all troubles which they had to suffer on earth; from them they shall have rest. The ἵνα is here, as in Eph. v. 33, to be taken imperatively, and therefore in this connection as an express promise. In the following context, instead of τὰ δέ, we should perhaps read, with Lachmann, τὰ γὰρ (according to A. C. 3 cursive, Syr. Vulg. Prim. August.); *for their works* (those of faith and patience) *do follow them,* accompany them to the place where they abide, and so God will secure them rest from their labours; comp. Tract. Avoth. vi. 9, Hora discessus hominis non comitantur eum argentum aut aurum, &c., sed lex et bona opera. Tr. Avoda sara, fol. v. 1, 51, Quis præstiterit præceptum unum in hac vita, illud præcedit eum, atque incedit ante faciem ejus in seculum futurum; see vi. 8, on the construction ἀκολουθεῖν μετα τινος.

Verses 14—20.

Two symbolical images, both having the same signification namely, to intimate that the world is ripe for Divine judgment; that this will soon be inflicted upon it. Such judgment is represented, first, under the image of harvest; secondly, under that

of vintage, both the gathering of the grapes and the pressing of them. Divine judgment upon the earth or a nation is frequently described under both images in the Old Testament prophets. Thus both are found together in Joel iv. 12 (iii. 18), "Put ye in the sickle; for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down; for the press is full, the vats overflow; for their wickedness is great (the nations which Jehovah will judge in the valley of Jehosaphat)." The image of the harvest is in Is. xvii. 5 sqq., Amos viii. 1 sqq.; that of the vintage and wine-press in Is. lxiii. 1—6.

(*a*) Verses 14—16. *And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of Man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.* This description leads us (so also Eichhorn, Lücke, p. 358, Hengstenberg, Ebrard) to think of the Messiah himself, especially since he is described in i. 13 as ὅμοιος υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου (after Dan. vii. 13). Yet again the ἄλλος ἄγγελος (verse 15) leads to the idea that only an angel is meant here; otherwise the angel in verses 17 sqq. would be here represented in exactly similar relation to the Messiah, which is not very probable.

Verse 15. *And another angel came out of the temple,* of heaven (verse 17), which, according to xi. 19, was open, from which proceed also (below, xv. 5 sqq.) the angels with the seven last plagues; and, according to xvi. 1, the voice resounds, commanding them to pour them out on the earth.

Crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle (comp. Joel. i. 1, iv. 12, שִׁלְחוּ מַגָּל) *and reap;* for the hour is come to reap (the received σοι after ἦλθεν is wanting in Compl. and others; is omitted again by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., which Mill approves; also by A. B. C. 26 cursive, Arr. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Andr. 2, Areth. Prim.); *for the harvest of the earth is become dry,* dried up, that is, already over-ripe. θερισμός, properly the act of reaping; here, as frequently קָצִיר, for the corn to be reaped.

Verse 16. *And he that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on*

the earth, and the earth was reaped; all that was ripe upon it for Divine punishment cut down; comp. Hos. vi. 11, "Also, O Judah, he hath set an harvest for thee."

(*b*) Verses 17—20. *And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.*

Verse 18. *And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over the fire.* By the altar we are to suppose the altar of incense, as τὸ θυσιαστήριον probably means everywhere in our book (see on xi. 1); here, that in the heavenly temple, where was the abode of the souls of Christian martyrs (vi. 9); perhaps the description has regard to the fact that he had come forth from the altar, and represents him as one who has just heard the prayers of the martyrs, and who now, in reference to them, arranges the immediate execution of judgment on the earth; comp. ix. 13. It is not quite clear why he is called the angel who has power over fire, since he does not make use of it here; as in xvi. 5 an ἄγγελος τῶν ὑδάτων appears. By the fire we are to understand the fire of the altar of incense; comp. viii. 5, where the angel takes fire from this altar and throws it upon the earth, whereupon arise lightning, thunder and earthquakes.

And cried with a loud voice to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather, cut off, *the grapes of the vine of the earth; for her* (or *its*, in reference to τῆς γῆς, which at all events is a genitive explicative) *berries are ripe* (τρυγᾶν, applied to the reaping of the fruits of dry fields and trees generally; so also in the LXX. frequently of the vintage; comp. Luke vi. 44). βότρυς properly denotes grape-stalks with the grapes on them; σταφυλαί, the grapes or berries on the stalks. Instead of ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς, Ewald reads, ἤκμασεν ἡ σταφυλὴ τῆς γῆς, to which Griesbach is also inclined; the singular is found in B. 23 cursive, Arr. Aeth. Areth.; and τῆς γῆς, in 25 cursive, Syr. Aeth. Areth.

Verse 19. *And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered,* cut off, *the vine of the earth, and cast it* (the cut grapes)

into the great wine-press of the wrath of God, in which God in his anger puts what is to be punished, for treading it under foot. Instead of the received τὴν μεγάλην, should be read, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., τὸν μέγαν; comp. Lücke, 2nd ed. pp. 463 sqq.; but this also without doubt refers to τὴν ληνὸν; ληνὸς is common gender, and is here treated as masculine and feminine, in immediate succession, in one sentence.

Verse 20. *And the wine-press was trodden without the city;* the pressing of the wine usually took place in the vineyards themselves, without the city. As this is included in the symbolic representation, we have probably to think of Jerusalem as the πόλις, signifying that Divine punishment would be inflicted on the world outside the holy city.

And blood came out of the wine-press, flowed out; figuratively, real mead in reference to its red colour is described as the blood of the grapes; Gen. xlix. 11, Deut. xxxii. 14, Sir. xxxix. 26, 1 Macc. vi. 34. Here the expression was the more applicable, because it is the proper one for the thing itself represented, meaning the blood which was to be shed by Divine punishment among the men of the world, in the battle about to commence against them.

Even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs; this describes, in a very hyperbolical manner, the great quantity of blood which would be shed at the defeat of the enemies of Christ, by the space which it occupies both in depth and surface. ἀπὸ is found, in specifying distance, in John xi. 18, xxi. 8, as well as in Josephus and other writers. It does not clearly appear how the 1600 furlongs, which are about = forty German miles, are to be understood, whether merely extension in one direction, in length, or perhaps as the sum of extension in both directions together, in length and breadth, probably the former. If the number is not to be considered merely as a round one, chosen with poetic licence to denote a very great space, as Victorinus, Primas., Vitringa and others,

think, it is most likely that it is meant for an average statement of the size of Palestine, as Grotius, Bengel, Eichhorn, Ewald, Züllig and others assume = over the entire surface of the Jewish land; inasmuch as the decisive battle will be there carried on against the world. What confirms this is, that Antoninus counts 1664 furlongs in his *Itinerarium* from Tyre as far as the Egyptian frontier-town, Rhinocolura. Yet the first supposition (a mere round number, without reference to the extent of a definite country) is perhaps the more correct. Others, as Hammond and Mede, take it for the supposed size of Italy, which however is much larger.

Ch. xv. xvi.

The vision of seven angels, who bring the seven last plagues on the earth; symbolized by the pouring out of vials full of Divine anger, upon the earth. The intimation in Sirac. xxxix. 32 sqq. (28 sqq.) lies perhaps at the foundation of this representation, where it is said, there are spirits who exist for revenge (εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἔκτισται), and at the time of fulfilment pour out their strength (ἐν καιρῷ συντελείας ἰσχὺν ἐκχέουσιν) and appease the anger of their Creator.

Ch. xv. 1.

These seven plague-angels are first adduced.

And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God; i. e. they were the last in which the Divine anger was manifested against the inhabitants of the earth, namely, before the coming of Messiah; the ὅτι refers to τὰς ἐσχάτας, since the reason is here stated why these plagues are called the last. That they are denoted as "having the seven last plagues," is also found in verse 6, although the vials are not given to them till verse 7, containing these plagues full of the Divine wrath. But the contents of this verse, as Züllig rightly takes it, are only to be viewed as a sort of heading for the following vision of the seven plague-angels themselves, since the seer cannot have seen the

angels yet, but somewhat later, since the temple is not opened till verse 5, whence they come forth, according to verse 6. What is between, verses 2—4, contains an intermediate vision, preceding the actual appearing of the seven plague-angels. Here, in

Verses 2—4,

is described the blessed condition of the saints, who, as conquerors, resist the beast, and praise God in sublime songs of praise, without having anything to fear from the impending plagues.

Verse 2. *And I saw, as it were, a sea of glass mingled with fire;* comp. iv. 6, κ. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. Here we have probably to think of the space in front of the throne of God, although it does not very distinctly appear. That it is said to be *mingled with fire,* is not, as Eichhorn, Ewald, Züllig, De Wette, Hengstenberg and others, suppose, a token of coming punishment or Divine anger, but merely serves to describe the brightness with which the crystal-like surface shines.

And them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass; these are they who had firmly resisted all temptation to worship the beast and his image, or to adopt the number of his name, and had come forth conquerors in their temptations and struggles; for such is the explanation of the otherwise unusual combination νικᾶν ἔκ τινος, as a somewhat pregnant construction. These the seer beholds standing on that sea, consequently before the throne of God. Yet it is not perhaps correct to think, as many interpreters do, of Christian martyrs, or at least of those who died in the faith. Much rather should we understand the complete body of believers who firmly resisted the beast; who are represented as taken away from the last plagues about to be inflicted on the world, so as not to be struck with those plagues, and standing before the throne of God.

Having the harps of God = such as were used for praising God; comp. (יְהוָה) כְּלֵי שִׁיר אֱלֹהִים, 1 Chr. xvi. 42, 2 Chr. vii. 6.

Verse 3. *And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God* (so is Moses called, Exod. xiv. 21, Jos. xiv. 7, &c.), *and the song of the Lamb.* The proper meaning of this is not quite clear. By the song of Moses, one might be inclined to imagine the song of thanksgiving after the deliverance of the people out of Egypt and the passage through the Red Sea (Exod. xv.). But then it is not clear what the song of the Lamb means. The song sung by them appears to mean, what is immediately described (verses 3, 4) as their hymn of praise to God, which is composed of single expressions out of various Old Testament passages. This might be called at the same time the song of Moses and of the Lamb; and the general sense is, that they praise God in their song, as they learnt it from Moses and Christ, the mediators of the Old and New Testament; or also, as Ewald (earlier), as they heard these singing in heaven itself, joining in their song; but the former is the more likely.

Saying, Great and marvellous are thy works (comp. Ps. iii. 2, cxxxix. 4), *Lord God Almighty*; *just and true thy ways* (comp. Ps. cxix, 75, Deut. xxxii. 4, Hos. xiv. 10), *thou King of the nations.* Jer. x. 7, מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם. Here the received text has ἁγίων (instead of ἐθνῶν); but ἐθνῶν in Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., and so A. B. 40 cursive, Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Prim. Andr. Areth. Cypr. Patr. Lat.; a third reading, αἰώνων (C. 18 cursive, MS. Syr. Erp. Vulg., approved by Grotius, Mill and others), has doubtless been derived from 1 Tim. i. 17. The received reading has little in its favour (the received is an incorrect Vulgate reading taken in by Erasmus; comp. Delitzsch, l. c.).

Verse 4. *Who shall not fear thee, O Lord?* Jer. x. 7, מִי־לֹא יִרָאֲךָ. Here, however, the σε is not certain. It is wanting in A. B. C. 4 cursive, Aeth. Arm. Vulg. MS. Andr. Cypr., also ed. Erasmus, 1, 2, 3, and omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, which De Wette approves; it would then be, *Who shall not be afraid, O Lord, and glorify* (praise) *thy name? for thou only art holy.* Instead of ὅσιος, B. 32 cursive, Andr. 2, have ἅγιος, and so the Compl., &c., which is more suitable, for ὅσιος is not used in reference to God;

yet it appears so below (xvi. 5), and is here probably genuine, in the sense of ἅγιος, as denoting the holy, the exalted, although ὅσιος of the LXX. corresponds better to the Hebrew חָסִיד.

For all nations shall come and fall down before thee, worship, reverence thee, after Ps. lxxxvi. 9, כָּל גּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ יָבוֹאוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לְפָנֶיךָ; *for thy judgments are made manifest*, because it is shown in them how thou judgest and punishest the transgressors and refractory.

Verses 5—8.

The seven plague-angels now come forth from the temple, and receive their vials full of the wrath of God.

Verse 5. *And after that I looked, and the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened.* σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου is the usual translation in the LXX. for the sanctuary of Jehovah prepared by Moses, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, they taking מוֹעֵד = עֵדוּת for the testimony or law of God, though it properly signifies, tent of assembly or meeting. This tabernacle was the seat of the ark of the covenant, and, according to Exod. xxv., made after the pattern which Jehovah showed Moses on Sinai, which was subsequently understood of the permanent model in heaven. So the heavenly temple is here described as the temple of the tabernacle of testimony as it was supposed to be the primitive pattern for the sanctuary made by Moses, with the original ark of the covenant; comp. xi. 19, κ.ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ὤφθη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ.

Verse 6. *And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues* (see verse 1), *clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.* The former serves to denote their purity and holiness; the latter, their activity in the approaching execution of the Divine commission; both together intimate the priestly character of these angels who come out of the temple of God (Exod. xxviii. 39 sqq., Levit. vi. 3).

Verse 7. *And one of the four beasts*, the cherubim, *gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials, full of the wrath of God who liveth for ever and ever.*

Verse 8. *And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.* The δόξα of God is the Old Testament כְּבוֹד יְהוָה, according to the later Jewish theology the שְׁכִינָה, the splendour which God spreads by his presence, which beams out from himself. But since no mortal is able to bear the sight, it appears usually in theophanies enveloped in a cloud or in smoke, which is therefore the sign of the Divine presence. So one might view the fact of the temple being filled with smoke here, merely as a sign of the majestic presence of God in it, as Vitringa, De Wette, Ebrard, &c., suppose; comp. Exod. xl. 34 sqq., according to which, Moses could not enter the tabernacle of the covenant because the majesty of Jehovah filled it, and a cloud rested upon it; 1 Kings viii. 10 sqq., 2 Chron. v. 14, vii. 1, Is. vi. 4. Yet it is very probable, from the connection, that the smoke is at the same time an indication of the Divine anger with which the plague-vials have just been filled. That the smoke refers to that, is specially confirmed by the fact that no one was able (on account of the smoke) to enter into the temple *till the seven plagues were fulfilled*, i. e. till the Divine anger was appeased by punishment inflicted on the world.

Ch. xvi. 1.

And I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels, Go your ways, and pour out the seven vials of the wrath of God upon the earth, i. e. accomplish on it the plagues with which you are charged.

Verses 2—9,

describe the plagues which proceed from the first four vials, corresponding to those which appear at the four first trumpets, viii. 7—12. Here also in succession, (1) the earth, (2) the sea, (3) the rivers and springs of waters, and (4) the sun, are struck, not merely, as there, the third part, but altogether; so that the men of the world, the worshippers of the beast, are tormented in

the most violent manner, even in a greater degree than there, without being led to repentance thereby.

(1) Verse 2. *And the first went and poured out his vial upon the earth, and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image.* ἕλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν = שְׁחִין רַע, Deut. xxviii. 35, Job ii. 7, LXX., ἕλκος πονηρόν. The plague is similar to the Egyptian, Exod. ix. 8—11.

(2) Verse 3. *And the second (angel) poured out his vial upon the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man,* can only mean, as of one deadly wounded (Grotius), therefore as human blood.

And every living soul (comp. כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ (הַ)חַיָּה, Gen. i. 20, 31) *died in the sea.* Instead of the received ζῶσα, we should probably read, with Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ζωῆς, according to A. C.; many cursives entirely omit it. Lachmann and Tischendorf read also τὰ before ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ (according to A. C. Syr.), where this is an apposition to πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς.

(3) Verses 4—7. *And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood.*

Verse 5. *And I heard the angel of the waters say.* This is not, as Grotius thinks, the same angel who pours out the vial, but the angel appointed over the water, the guardian angel of the water, whose element is chiefly struck by this plague, and who is able to recognize in it the Divine justice. The later Jewish theology assumes similar angels as presiding not merely over different nations, but also over the single elements and other natural objects on the earth, separate from one another; over fire, hail, the sun, &c.; see Eisenm. ii. pp. 376 sqq. So a special שׂר was assumed to preside over the water; רַהַב, Raging, Vehemence, is given as his name; see Schöttgen, ad h. l.

Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast, because thou hast judged thus, hast sent forth such judgment.

Verse 6. *For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets,*

and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy, have fully deserved it.

Verse 7. *And I heard the altar say.* Instead of the received text, ἄλλου ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, which Züllig holds, should be read, with Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, merely θυσιαστηρίου, which Mill approves; according to A. B. C. 34 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Vulg. Vesp. Bede. The altar itself, namely, the altar of incense in heaven, where the souls of believers who were slain have their abode, is described as speaking, inasmuch as a voice is heard out of it, whether it be of the martyrs themselves or of the angel of the incense-altar (comp. on xiv. 18); comp. ix. 13.

Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments; comp. xv. 3.

(4) Verses 8, 9. *And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun, and power was given unto it* (αὐτῷ, without doubt referring to the sun struck by the vial, not to the angel) *to scorch men with fire,* to burn them. At the fourth trumpet (viii. 12) the heavenly bodies were partly darkened; here, the red heat of the sun is increased in a manner destructive to men.

Verse 9. *And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues;* from whom alone their infliction can proceed.

And they repented not, to give him glory; to recognize him as the only powerful or just judge; for the sense, comp. ix. 20 sqq. Those who survived the earthquake in Jerusalem behaved otherwise, xi. 13, καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

(5) Verses 10, 11.

Verse 10. *And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast,* upon the place of the earth where the latter had his chief seat, and from whence he ruled the earth, therefore on new Babylon, that is, Rome.

And his kingdom was full of darkness, as was the earth already at the fourth trumpet (viii. 12), and as the land of Egypt was at

the time of Moses (Exod. x. 21 sqq.). Here thick darkness follows the excessive heat of the sun, *and they*, the adherents of the beast on his throne, *bit*, chewed as it were, maimed, *their tongues for pain.*

Verse 11. *And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores;* it does not appear whether these are to be supposed the consequence of the last-mentioned plague-vials, or refer at the same time to what precedes, particularly to verse 2.

And repented not of their deeds; comp. ix. 20, οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν.

(6) Verses 12—16.

The sixth trumpet should be compared with this, ix. 13—21.

Verse 12. *And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the East might be prepared,* who should come from the far East, from the other side of the Euphrates, and would therefore be impeded on their march by this river; this obstruction is removed by the drying up of it. (See the general Introduction on the interpretation of this vision.) By the kings from the East we are to understand those who, according to xvii. 12, are symbolized by the ten horns of the beast, princes who have power with the beast only a short time, and, in combination with him, make war against the Lamb in vain, but destroy the woman, Babylon, i. e. Rome; which, as we have seen, is connected with an idea, at that time very prevalent, that Nero was to return as Antichrist, in company with Eastern, chiefly Parthian, princes, and avenge himself on Rome which had cast him out. For this purpose the way is prepared for these kings, that they may continue their journey without hindrance, in order to exercise their activity, which God the Lord permits them to do for a short time. Perhaps also passages such as Is. xliv. 27, Jer. li. 32, 36, floated before the writer's mind, in the image of the drying up of the water of the Euphrates, where the same thing is spoken of in reference to Babylon; although in these passages

the meaning should probably be taken somewhat differently from here. The destination of those kings of the East is not farther spoken of. The following verses (13—16) describe how the kings of the whole earth are called together by demons, to the last decisive battle at the great day of God's judgment, whose quick and sudden appearing is proclaimed at the same time in an inserted exhortation. The summoning together of these hosts takes place by means of three demons which go out from Satan, from the beast (Antichrist) and from the false prophet, in the form of frogs, serving to denote their uncleanness, loathsomeness and adventuresomeness; with which we may compare Artemidor. Oneirocrit. ii. 15, where frogs denote jugglers and boasters.

And I saw three unclean spirits, like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet = like frogs in form; one would expect a participle, ἐκπορευόμενα or ἐκπορευθέντα, but it is not expressed, the verb being afterwards added in another construction (verse 14), with the statement of those to whom they go out, ἃ ἐκπορεύεται; it may be doubted whether the relative refers to the member immediately preceding, πνεύματα δαιμονίων, or to the πνεύματα τρία ἀκάθαρτα in verse 13. In the latter case, εἰσὶ γὰρ πνεύματα—σημεῖα would be a general parenthetical intermediate sentence, *they are, namely, spirits of demons, which work miracles;* in the former case, those spirits named in verse 13 would be the subject of εἰσι, *those are, namely, spirits of demons, which work miracles, which go out.* The words as they run are not very natural in either case. One might readily be inclined to consider them as a gloss, as they would not be missed if wanting. Yet they have every external evidence in their favour.

Which go forth to the kings of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. This is understood by some interpreters as if the judgment upon Rome were meant (and so Züllig, only in reference to the Jewish land, to the anguish and oppression of the inhabitants of this once holy land), and the kings were assembled to make war against and destroy this

new Babylon according to Divine guidance; comp. xvii. 16 sqq. But even there it does not appear that Babylon will be attacked by these kings of the whole world, but only by the beast and the ten horns, i. e. the princes of the East from beyond the Euphrates. The very description in our passage makes the meaning much more probable, that they will be assembled for the last battle against God, and for the last judgment which God will hold upon themselves. So also De Wette.

Verse 15. This verse appears parenthetically as an inserted admonition of the Lord. Beza is very rash in wishing to expunge it (contrary to all external evidence), and to put it after iii. 18, although it cannot be denied that it is somewhat unsuitable; it is manifestly occasioned by the allusion to the last judgment (verse 13).

Behold, I come as a thief (comp. iii. 3); *blessed is he that watcheth* (iii. 2, γίνου γρηγορῶν) *and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked and they see his shame.* The garments probably mean those which the Lord gives to his own people, with which he clothes them; comp. iii. 17, 18. These we are exhorted to keep, not to take them off from us in a state of intoxication or sleep, that we may not be found of the Lord, at his appearing, in our natural nakedness, in a state entirely unbecoming his followers.

Verse 16. The subject here is not, as some think, the sixth plague-angel, or God (as Hengstenberg, Ebrard, &c.), or Satan, but doubtless the πνεύματα, ἃ ἐκπορεύεται κ. λ. Verse 14. *And he gathered them together*, the kings of the whole world, led them *together into a place called, in the Hebrew tongue, Armagedon.* The origin and interpretation of this name is not certain. The form induces us to suppose it to be compounded of הַר and מְגִדּוֹ, or מְגוֹן, which is also the opinion of most. Megiddo was a fortress which belonged to the tribe of Manasseh. Among other things, it was known by two battles and defeats which happened in its vicinity, (*a*) by the defeat which Sisera and other Canaanitish kings suffered from the Israelites under the judge Barak and Deborah, at the water of Megiddo (probably the Kison), Judges iv. 15, v. 19;

and (*b*) by the defeat which the Jewish king Josiah, 611 before Christ, suffered in the valley of Megiddo, from Pharaoh Necho, where he himself was slain (2 Kings xxiii. 29 sqq., 2 Chron. xxxv. 22 sqq.). Accordingly, the bitter lamentation (Zech. xii. 11) which will be heard one day at Jerusalem is compared with the lamentation in the valley of Megiddo. Hence Megiddo might denote symbolically a place where a great defeat was to be inflicted, namely, by Divine judgment on the kings of the earth who oppose themselves to God. The Har might refer to the position of the town at the foot of Carmel. Yet it cannot be denied that the explanation is not quite satisfactory. Other derivations are less probable (see Schleusner, s. v., De Wette on the passage). Perhaps regard was had originally to the city of Megiddo, and a reference to those defeats lay at the foundation; and that the name Harmegiddon was already used in a symbolical sense in a more ancient writing now lost, for a place of defeats, a judgment-field; in this manner it would be more easily explained in our passage. It is false when Ewald thinks that Harmegiddon is here an appellation of Rome itself (so also in the Jahrb. d. Bibl. W. VIII. 1856, p. 80, Anm., where he thinks that, as the writer already met with the name, it must have been pretty well known in the writings of that time as a periphrasis for Rome, invented by an earlier writer in reference to the idea that רומה הגדולה, Roma magna, is according to the numeral value of the letters = הר מגדון = 304). Züllig thinks the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem is meant, which is called (2 Kings xxiii. 13) Mount of Corruption (הַר מַשְׁחִית, an appellation which was also applied to the ancient Babylon, Jer. li. 25); it is called here Mount Megiddo, alluding to those great defeats that happened at Megiddo in ancient history, and at the same time to the etymological signification of the word from גוד = גָּדַד, to press, to press into heaps, גדוד applied to swarming masses of soldiers = a great crowding together of warlike masses.

(7) Verses 17—21.

Verse 17. *And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and a great voice* (μεγάλη, omitted by Lachmann, according to A. 2 cursive, Cassiodor.; wanting also in Erasmus, 1, 2, 3, Ald. Colin.; the omission approved by Mill and Bengel) *came out of the temple of heaven* (τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, according to A. 2 cursive, Syr. Copt. Vulg. Prim.; the omission approved by Mill and Bengel; in the ed. Eras. 1, 2, 3, Ald. Colin., on the contrary, τοῦ ναοῦ is omitted, which is wanting in some cursives), *from the throne* (i.e. from the holy of holies, where the throne of God is supposed to be in heaven), *saying, It is done,* accomplished, the whole work, namely, which was assigned by God to these seven plague-angels; this is described as accomplished by the pouring out of the seventh vial. What resulted from the seventh vial is stated in the following verse. It is false when Grotius and others understand the γέγονε, fuit Roma, which it can hardly mean. It cannot be definitely referred to the destruction of Rome considered as past.

Verse 18. *And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake;* οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο κ. λ.; comp. Dan. xii. 1, And it was an evil time, אֲשֶׁר לֹא נִהְיְתָה מִהְיוֹת גּוֹי עַד הָעֵת הַהִיא.

Verse 19. *And the great city was divided into three parts,* was torn asunder into three parts, *and the cities of the nations fell, and great Babylon came in remembrance before God,* was brought to his remembrance (ἐμνήσθη here passively, as in Acts x. 34; αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, usually in an active sense, to remember), *to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.* The meaning of this verse is not quite clear, particularly of the first member. From the relation in which both the other members stand to it, one would not be inclined to understand by the πόλις μεγάλη mentioned in it, Babylon, heathen Rome; for since the γίνεσθαι εἰς τρία μέρη is undoubtedly

to be considered as a consequence of the Divine anger, it does not appear natural that, after what has been just said, Babylon should be divided or rent asunder into three parts; then it is immediately said, it came into remembrance before God to give it the cup of fierceness of his anger = the determination to punish it was renewed by God; and as it is said in the second member of the verse, the cities of the nations (heathen) fell, one might also be inclined to take these in contrast with the great city mentioned in the first member, so that the latter would not be a heathen city. In that case Jerusalem only could be meant (and so Andreas, as well as Bengel, Hofmann, &c.), which is also called (in xi. 8) the πόλις ἡ μεγάλη. I have referred it to Jerusalem, not indeed in the Treatise, but afterwards in my Lectures (Apoc. and Introd. to the New Testament), finding an intimation in this passage that, at the time of the writing of the second part, the destruction of the city by the Romans had preceded; and I understood the matter thus: at this destruction of Jerusalem, Rome had again been remembered, as it were, by God; and, on account of its conduct to that city, the resolve upon its destruction was, as it were, renewed. Yet even if Jerusalem were to be understood, this conclusion would not be sufficiently authorized, for ἐγένετο εἰς τρία μέρη would not be a natural expression for the complete destruction of the city by the Romans. The formula may be rather referred to the city being rent asunder before its destruction by the different parties which strove with one another in it. Even this is not natural here, since, from the connection, it is much rather to be viewed as a consequence of the violent earthquake, as, in verse 11, the tenth part of the city (Jerusalem) falls by an earthquake; it would then be intimated here that from this most violent earthquake, by which the heathen cities fell or were destroyed, Jerusalem also suffered to a great degree and was violently shaken. But that Jerusalem is not meant is confirmed by the way in which, in xi. 13, the effect or the punishment inflicted upon a part of the city is expressed, viz. that the remainder (the inhabitants of the city) gave God

the glory, i. e. repented. If a punishment upon Jerusalem were spoken of here, one would expect it would not merely be mentioned very briefly, but be described more minutely in its effect. It is therefore probable, and this is the usual acceptation, that the subject of the first member is Babylon, Rome; which is also in xviii. 16—18, xix. 2, designated directly as the great city. We must then understand the passage in this manner: that Babylon was strongly shaken by that earthquake, although not quite destroyed like other cities of the Gentiles, but that its complete fall was immediately impending, and the carrying out of it on the part of God was resolved upon.

Verse 20. *And every island fled away,* disappeared, *and the mountains were not found any more,* had likewise sunk, disappeared, in consequence of the violent earthquake; comp. vi. 14, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος κ. νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν.

Verse 21. *And great hail, about the weight of a talent* (over fifty pounds; comp. Josephus, B. J. V. xvi. 3, ταλαντιαῖοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βαλόμενοι πέτροι), *fell from heaven down upon men; and men* (instead of repenting, amending) *blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail, for the plague thereof was exceeding great.*

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contains a more minute explanation of the beast as well as his heads and horns, and also of Babylon the Great; an explanation which is given to the seer by one of the seven plague-angels, who offers to show him the judgment of the great whore.

Verses 1, 2.

Verse 1. *And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters* (the twofold τῶν before πολλῶν and ὑδάτων is omitted by Lachmann, as Eras. 1, 2, 3, Colin., Bengel, according to A. 5 cursive, Hippol. Andr.). This woman, according to verse 5, is the great Babylon whose πορνεία (xiv. 8) was already spoken of in reference to her idolatry. The description of her as sitting

upon many waters, or many great waters (for it can only mean this; comp. verse 15, τὰ ὕδατα οὗ ἡ πόρνη κάθηται), is borrowed from the picture of ancient Babylon in Jer. li. 13, עַל־מַיִם רַבִּים שָׁכַנְתִּי. It refers to the position of the city on the river Euphrates; so here the new Babylon on the Tiber. But there is at the same time, according to verse 15, a symbolical meaning in allusion to numerous peoples who are united in the city and ruled by her; comp. Nahum ii. 9, where Nineveh is compared to a pool full of water, in reference to its number of people. The later Jews frequently apply the water mentioned in the Old Testament to nations; see Wetstein on verse 15. Besides, the fact that the angel here offers to show the seer the judgment of Babylon, proves that the destruction of the city is not supposed in the preceding verses to have already happened, and that the εἰς τρία μέρη ἐγένετο, in xvi. 19, cannot be meant, as Eichhorn and others think, of its complete destruction. This passage also clearly shows that Jerusalem cannot be meant, as Züllig thinks, for that city could not be described as sitting upon many waters. As that description must be true in the literal sense, it decidedly implies a city situated either by the sea or on a large river.

Verse 2. *With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication;* see xiv. 8, "She has therefore enticed both prince and nations to herself, and, by tempting them to idolatry, led them into destruction." This would be a very unsuitable designation of Jerusalem at that time.

Verses 3—7.

So he carried me away in the spirit, in vision, *into a wilderness.* This locality has perhaps a symbolic reference to the destiny impending over the city; comp. verse 16, ἠρημωμένην αὐτὴν ποιήσουσι; xviii. 19, μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἠρημώθη, &c.

And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured, crimson beast, full of names of blasphemy (comp. xiii. 1, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, see ad h. l. Instead of ὀνομάτων, A. 22 cur-

sive have ὀνόματα; and then A. 4 cursive have the article τὰ before it; accordingly Lachmann has γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, but the more probable reading would be γέμον τὰ ὀνόματα βλ.), *having seven heads and ten horns.* There is therefore no doubt that this is the very beast which ascended up out of the sea (xiii. 1), not as Züllig (ii. 259 sqq.), Ebrard and others, think, a different one. The crimson colour of the beast, as well as the crimson-red and purple-coloured dress of the woman, are only designations of the lustre which beams around her as a ruler, as Grotius supposes; comp. Pliny, H. N. xxii. 2, coccum imperatoris dicatum paludamentis. Others, as Ewald, understand the colour of the beast as pointing to the blood shed by it.

Verse 4. *And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour;* πορφυροῦν and κόκκινον, according to the correct text, are neuter adjectives placed substantively, referring to garments of that colour; as xviii. 16, also comp. xix. 8.

Decked with gold (entirely covered, as it were, with it, instead of adorned with it in the richest manner), *and with precious stones* (λίθος τίμιος = אֶבֶן יְקָרָה), *and with pearls* (compare the description of the splendour of Tyre in Ezek. xxviii. 13), *having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and the filthiness of her fornication.* Instead of ἀκαθάρτητος should doubtless be read, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann and others, τὰ ἀκάθαρτα (according to A. B. about 40 cursive, Hippol. Andr.), which, according to an incorrect construction, is dependent on γέμον as well as βδελυγμάτων. Both describe the contents of the cup as impure, as related to the worship of idols; with it she intoxicates the nations, tempting them still farther to idolatry; comp. xiv. 8.

Verse 5. *And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.* So she is described by the inscription she bears on her forehead, consequently by the manner in which she presents herself to all the world; as perhaps, among the Romans, whores were wont to bear the inscription of their name on their foreheads. Senec. Controv. i. 2, nomen tuum pependit a fronte;

Juvenal, vi. 123. One may doubt whether μυστήριον belongs to the inscription itself, or is an apposition to ὄνομα; in the latter case, as Züllig and Ebrard suppose, it should be interpreted, a name which is a mystery = has a secret interpretation; comp. xi. 8, πνευματικῶς. Yet the other meaning is the more likely, in which case the inscription itself signifies the mysterious and allegorical contained in the name (Babylon). Instead of πορνῶν, meretricum, some MSS. read πόρνων, the masculine of πόρνος; so also the Compl. and others, approved by Scaliger; and Griesbach is inclined to the same. Even this would not be unsuitable. But it is more probably meant as feminine, mother of harlots, leader of all others who entice to prostitution, i. e. to idolatry; other Gentile cities, chief seats of the worship of idols, being thought of.

Verse 6. *And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;* μεθύουσαν, comp. Pliny, H. N. xiv. 22 (of Antony), ebrius jam sanguine civium et tanto magis eum sitiens.

And when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration; I could not reconcile myself to the entire phenomenon; knew not what it properly meant; it completely astounded me.

Verse 7. *And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman* (= her secret significance; comp. i. 20) *and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.*

Verse 8.

The angel now gives a minuter interpretation, and first of the beast. In the general Introduction I unfolded more at large how we are to take this according to the words of the passage itself in connection with xiii. 3, 13 sqq., and after comparing what we know from other sources as to the ideas and expectations of the time to which the Apocalypse belongs. It refers to the supposition that Nero, who had persecuted the confessors of the Lord in so terrible a manner, was to return and manifest himself as the

true Antichrist, so that the essence of anti-christian Romanism was to reach its highest point in him, till he should be subdued by Christ.

The beast that thou sawest was and is not, in this moment, inasmuch as Romanism or Roman anti-christianism, which showed itself concentrated in him even during his life-time, appeared broken, destroyed, after the removal or death of Nero; *and shall* (again) *ascend out of the bottomless pit*; comp. xi. 7, τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου.

And go into perdition, shall finally himself perish, subdued by Christ at his appearance, and will be cast into hell; for such is the meaning, referring to the final, self-destructive, issue of his attempt against Christ and the kingdom of God; comp. verse 14, xix. 20.

And they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world; precisely those who worship the beast, according to xiii. 8.

When they behold the beast (instead of the received text, βλέποντες, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have rightly βλεπόντων, which Grotius and Mill approve, according to A. B. 30 cursive, Andr. 2), *that was, and is not, and yet is*, appears again. Here the received reading has καίπερ ἐστίν, which would mean, and yet he is there = although he is really there. Yet the correct one is doubtless καὶ παρέσται; Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and others, according to A. B. 31 cursive, Hippol. Andr. 2, Areth. Ewald (earlier) and Züllig maintain the received reading. But καίπερ ἐστίν would be a mode of speech unusual elsewhere, since καίπερ is always united with the participle (see my Comment. ad Hebr. v. 8, ib. p. 85), both in the New Testament and in other writers. The analogy also of the description in the first hemistich, besides the preponderance of external witnesses, is in favour of καὶ παρέσται, since it corresponds to the μελλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, and one would expect the idea expressed here that he would again appear. It may be briefly mentioned that Züllig understands the beast of

the Jewish-Edomitish kingdom in general, i.e. the Herodian, and especially of the sovereignty of its last king, who was to contend against the coming Messiah, and under whom Jerusalem was to perish. This was not now, although the kingdom of Edom was; it had been, but had retreated, and would return, and then its dominion would be again with that last king.

Verse 9. The first hemistich should not be taken, with Grotius, Herder, Heinrichs and others, to mean, this is the deep, secret meaning of the riddle, or, here is a deep meaning, but, *here* (is shown) *the mind which hath wisdom*, here is manifested a penetrating mind in order to understand this, as xiii. 18, ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν. So also Züllig, De Wette, Hengstenberg, Ebrard.

The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the beast sitteth, has his seat. That this cannot refer to Jerusalem, but only to Rome, see the general Introduction, pp. 89 sqq.

Verse 10. *And there are seven kings;* besides the seven mountains, seven kings, that is emperors, are symbolized.

Five are fallen, perished, are dead, namely, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. *One is,* one of the seven, namely, who followed the five fallen ones, the sixth in the series, Galba or Vespasian. See general Introduction, p. 119. *The other,* the seventh and last in this number, *is not yet come,* viz. as king or emperor, he is still expected; *and when he cometh he must continue a short space,* so it is according to the Divine counsel, for that lies in the δεῖ, meaning that he will be immediately set aside or supplanted by Nero, who shall return; so that the expectation is here expressed that this would take place very soon after the death of the emperor, the sixth, reigning at that time, whether Galba or Vespasian. According to Züllig, the kings of the Edomites are meant (Gen. xxxvi. 32 sqq., 1 Chron. i. 43 sqq.), (1) Bela, (2) Jobab, (3) Husam, (4) Hadad, (5) Samla, (6) Saul, (7) Baal Hanan. According to Genesis, the eighth is Hadar, but according to 1 Chron., Hadad, therefore the same name which was already given. These are types of the new Edomitish kings over Israel, the Herodians, as הדר transposed הרד points to the

name Herod, and so the first five kings are, (1) Herod the Great, his three sons, (2) Archelaus, (3) Philip, (4) Herod Antipas; farther (5) Agrippa I., (6) Herod of Chalcis, (7) Agrippa II. (whom Justus of Tiberias, cotemporary and rival of Josephus, expressly describes as the seventh and last of these kings). So the Apocalypse (A.D. 44—47) would be written under (No. 6) Herod of Chalcis, as Lakemacher (Obs. Phil. P. x. 5, 6) supposes. In reference to the eighth, Züllig himself is undecided; he thinks that the writer thought perhaps of Herod Antipas (ii. 339 sqq.), the murderer of John the Baptist, who was supposed to be again restored to life.

Verse 11. *And the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth and is one of the seven.* The ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστι does not mean here, as Grotius supposes, and he is descended from them; that would be too insignificant; or, which one would more readily suppose, he consists of the seven, so far as they all formed but individual manifestations of the essence of the beast; but, he is of their number, one of the seven, viz. of the five who have already fallen, the last of these, and will be, on the other hand, the eighth, i. e. return as the eighth. As already remarked in the general Introduction, it is here implied that in Nero the character of the beast, the essence of idolatrous Romanism and anti-christianism, appears entirely concentrated and personified, so that he who is symbolized by one of the seven horns like the other individual emperors, might be viewed at the same time as the beast itself, embodied anti-christianism.

And goeth into perdition, from which he will not escape.

Verse 12. *And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet.* According to Züllig, these are the Edomitish chiefs who are named after those eight kings (Gen. xxxvi. 40 sqq., 1 Chron. i. 5 sqq.); properly only eleven are mentioned there, but the last two names were constantly united into one by the Rabbins. These are types of those who should suddenly appear as rulers of so many smaller kingdoms of Edom, outside the borders of Judea, perhaps in Edom proper. Instead

of οὔπω, Erasmus, 1, 2, 3, Colin., Bengel, Lachmann, have οὐκ, according to A. Copt. Vulg. Iren., probably not the original reading.

But receive power as kings one hour with the beast. Vitringa takes μίαν ὥραν, uno eodemque tempore; comp. xviii. 8, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρα ἥξουσιν αἱ πληγαὶ αὐτῆς. Yet it is highly probable, as generally supposed, that the short duration of their power is meant, for an hour, for a moment = for a very short time. It may also be assumed with the greatest probability, that the kings meant here are the same as the kings in xvi. 12, coming from the East, for whom a way should be cleared by the drying up of the Euphrates; and that it refers to the idea that Nero will be assisted on his return by Eastern, particularly Parthian, rulers in his hostile enterprizes. That ten of them are mentioned is only caused by the number of the horns being ten, borrowed from Dan. vii. 7. From the manner in which they are here spoken of, they do not appear to be princes who then ruled Parthia and other neighbouring lands, but as appearing at the same time with Antichrist in order to support him in his attempts, and also perishing with him in a short time. Ewald, on the contrary, supposes Roman governors of provinces, and considers them the same as the βασιλεῦσι τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης, xvi. 14. This is wholly improbable after what was already remarked against Ewald upon the latter, and the object of their being summoned together. It is not likely also that nothing farther should be said here of those kings from the East, of their destination, operation and fate, after the fact has been made so prominent that the way should be prepared for them (into the West) by the drying up of the Euphrates.

Verse 13. *These have one mind,* all act unanimously, with the same purpose, *and shall give their power and strength,* which God has granted them, *to the beast.*

Verse 14. *These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings;* comp. xix 16, according to which the Lord has a name written

on his vesture and on his thigh, *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων κ. κύριος κυρίων.*

What the second hemistich, *καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κ. λ.*, means here is not clear; it may either be taken as a special idea, *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ* as the subject, the rest as predicate, "And those with him, his adherents, are called, chosen and faithful." Yet that would be too abrupt. More probably it should be taken with others (for example, Grotius, Eichhorn, Züllig, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Heinrichs, De Wette), to mean that the whole, *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ . . πιστοὶ*, goes together, co-ordinate with the *τὸ ἀρνίον* in the preceding, and still belonging to the subject of the verb *νικήσαι αὐνοῦς*; *and they that are with him*, contending as his hosts, *are called, and chosen, and faithful.*

Verse 15. *And he* (that plague-angel), *saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth* (verse 1), *are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,* numerous nations of different languages; see, on this symbolism, verse 1.

Verse 16. *And the ten horns which thou sawest, and the beast* (the received text has *ἐπὶ*, which must be, on the beast; for it, *και* is in the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, al., according to A. B. 32 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. MS. Hippol. Andr. Prim. al., doubtless the correct reading; *ἐπί* brought into the text by Erasmus from the Vulgate), *these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked,* entirely destroy and strip her, so that she stands wholly naked; image and subject, the idea of the woman and the city intermingle here, so also in the following.

And shall eat her flesh (comp. אָכַל בְּשַׂר פ״ Ps. xxvii. 2, Micah iii. 2, 3, "who eat the flesh of my people." *φάγομαι* only used in the signification of the future) *and burn her with fire.* How this coincides with the expectations then current, that Nero, returning with his accompanying troops, should avenge himself especially on the city which had cast him out, on Rome, see general Introduction.

Verse 17. *For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will;*

God will make use of the evil one himself, Antichrist and his companions, as instruments in performing his decree to destroy Babylon. It is false when others, also De Wette, refer the pronoun αὐτοῦ to the beast, Antichrist.

And to agree (these words, καὶ ποιῆσαι γνώμην μίαν, are omitted by Lachmann, according to A. Vulg. Andr. MS., Mill also approves the omission), *and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled*, i. e. until his prophecies will find their fulfilment, those respecting the destruction of Babylon and the future coming of the Lord, when the beast himself and his associates will be defeated. On τελεῖσθαι, comp. Luke xviii. 31, xxii. 37.

Verse 18. *And the woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth*, exercises sovereignty over them. Thus Babylon is again unmistakably described as Rome.

If we look back to this vision with the explanation of the angel, Babylon is the woman who sits on the beast with the seven heads, seven-hilled Rome, as chief seat of the worship of idols and anti-christianism. But seven kings are at the same time symbolized by those seven heads, individual manifestations of the anti-christian idolatry depicted by the beast. One was to appear as eighth king, in whom the essence of the beast would be so concentrated as to be entirely one with him; therefore the eighth is not represented by a single head of the beast, but is the beast itself, and this because he is the same who was present among the seven (as the fifth), who shall again appear as the last and extreme manifestation of idolatrous and anti-christian Romanism, as embodied Antichrist, till he, together with the rulers from the East appearing and disappearing along with him (who are symbolized by the ten horns), succumbs to Christ returning in his full glory. As to the value of this prophecy, &c., see general Introduction.

Ch. xviii. 1—xix. 10.

The fall of the woman, Babylon the Great, already mentioned in xiii. 8 (comp. xvi. 10, xvii. 16), is farther described in warnings, songs of lamentation and joy, and symbolical images. Firstly,

(*a*) Ch. xviii. 1—3,

her fall is announced by an angel, as a consequence of her sinful and seductive character.

Verse 1. *And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power* (= ἰσχυρὸς, v. 2, x. 1), *and the earth was lightened with his glory*, with the splendour which he sent forth from himself, and spread around him; Ezek. xliii. 3, וְהָאָרֶץ הֵאִירָה מִכְּבוֹדוֹ (of Jehovah).

Verse 2. *And he cried with a strong voice, Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen* (comp. xiv. 8), *and is become the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.* This signifies the changing of it into a very horrible, dismal wilderness; see ix. 14. Is. xiii. 21 sqq. lies at the foundation, where, among the threats of the destruction of Babylon, it is said that it shall be the abode of wild beasts, of שְׂעִירִים, δαιμόνια, and screeching birds; comp. ib. xxxiv. 11 sqq., the description of the impending desolation of Edom; Zeph. ii. 14 (against Nineveh). *Unclean and hateful*, i.e. owls, ravens, among others, are abhorred, loathsome birds. Such are mentioned in Is. loci citat. It is called the φυλακὴ of such beasts and demons, as they are banished to this place and cannot get out of it.

Verse 3. *For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication* (comp. xiv. 8, ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικε πάντα ἔθνη. Here Lachmann has omitted τοῦ οἴνου, according to Aeth. Vulg. MS. Iren.; hence, of the wrath of the fornication; yet the words are perhaps genuine), *and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her;* comp. xvii. 2, μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς.

And the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the

abundance of her delicacies = by her great debauchery; Luther, by her excessive voluptuousness.

(*b*) Verses 4—20.

Another heavenly voice, which commands the people of God to go out of Babylon that they may not participate in her sins, and fall under the punishments which shall come upon her suddenly and with violence; so that her lovers, the kings of the earth, standing afar off from fear of her torment, and those who have enriched themselves by her, lament (verses 4—19); whilst, on the contrary, heaven and the saints whom God avenges on her, rejoice (verse 20).

Verses 4, 5. *And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people.* According to this it appears as if we were to think of the voice of God himself or Christ. Yet that of an angel only is meant, who (not in the following, verse 5) speaks here in the name of God. It is chiefly an imitation of Jerem. li. 45, צְאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ עַמִּי; comp. also ib. 6, l. 8, where the Israelites are summoned to depart out of Babylon on account of the impending destruction of the city; comp. Is. lii. 11, xlviii. 20.

That ye be not partakers of her sins, infected by them, seduced as it were; comp. Eph. v. 11, καὶ μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀκάρποις τοῦ σκότους.

And that ye receive not of her plagues, be struck by them; see Jerem. l. c.; comp. Numb. xvi. 26.

Verse 5. Instead of the received reading, ἠκολούθησαν, we should read, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, al. ἐκολλήθησαν, according to A. B. C. 33 cursive, Syr. Ar. Copt. Aeth. Hippol. Andr. Areth. Patr. Lat. (vulg. pervenerunt). Jerem. li. 9 lies probably at the foundation: "Her judgment (Babylon's) (punishment, מִשְׁפָּטָהּ) reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies." So it is said here, *for her sins have reached* = clung together, accumulated, *unto heaven,* lie so excessively great and heaped up, that it is impossible for God to overlook them.

And God hath remembered her iniquities, has become mindful of them.

Verses 6, 7. Address to the plague-angels who execute the Divine punishments; for that is doubtless the meaning. *Reward her, even as she rewarded* = according as she treated others; ἀποδιδόναι is used here the second time, like the Hebrew גָּמַל, generally in reference to mutual transactions, things done to others. The received text has ὑμῖν after ἀπέδωκε, which is very unsuitable; it is wanting in A. B. C. about 30 cursive, Syr. Ar. Copt. Aeth. Vulg. MS. Hippol. Patr. Lat.; omitted by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf; which Grotius, Mill and Bengel approve.

And double unto her double according to her works, let her experience double punishment for it most richly.

In the cup which she hath filled = presented the wine of her fornication, *fill to her double* = let her experience the severest punishment for all her seduction of others unto the worship of idols. On this two-fold application of the image, comp. xiv. 8, 10, xvi. 19, xviii. 3.

Verse 7. *How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her; for she saith in her heart, I sit* (throned) *a queen and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow,* not experience it; copied from Is. xlvii. 7, 8 (referring to Babylon), "And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever (גְּבֶרֶת. . .). Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, לֹא אֵשֵׁב אַלְמָנָה וְלֹא־אֵדַע שְׁכוֹל." The widowhood refers perhaps to the loss of the king; here probably in reference to the kings who committed fornication with her, as πένθος alludes to the loss of children, i. e. of her inhabitants. The word is used particularly respecting sorrow and lamentation for the dead.

Verse 8. *Therefore shall her plagues come in one day* (Is. xlvii. 9, הֶבֵנָּה בְּיוֹם אֶחָד), *death, and mourning* (for the loss of her children), *and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire; for strong is the Lord God who hath judged her,* inflicted punishment on her. This will call forth bitter lamentation from all

who stood in close union with her, as the same angel continues to describe, chiefly after the type of Ezekiel in the prophecy against Tyre (ch. xxvi. sqq.). First,

(α) Verses 9, 10. Sorrow and lamentation on the part of her lovers, the kings; comp. Ezek. xxvi. 16—18, xxvii. 35.

And the kings of the earth who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her and lament for her, on account of her destruction, *when they shall see the smoke of her burning.*

Verse 10. *Standing afar off,* continuing to stand, *for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city, for in one hour,* suddenly, in a moment, *is thy judgment come,* thou art destroyed in the judgment.

(β) Verses 11—17. Lamentation of the merchants who enriched themselves by her. *And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth their merchandise any more* (γόμος, Acts xxi. 3, of cargo, from γεμεῖν, to be full, to be loaded; here of merchandise generally).

Verse 12. *The merchandise of gold* (the genitive explicative), *and silver, and precious stones, and pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all citron-wood* (ξύλον θύϊνον, wood of the tree θυία, citron, an African tree, the wood of which had a pleasant smell, and was manufactured by the ancients into fine household furniture, tables, &c.; it is doubtful what tree was originally meant by the word; it was applied to our citron tree only at a very late period).

And all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble.

Verse 13. *And cinnamon, and amomum,* the latter an Indian aromatic shrub which, like cinnamon, was used for its fragrance (the words καὶ ἄμωμον are wanting in the received text, but are adopted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., according to sufficient authority, A. C. 8 cursive, Syr. Aeth. Vulg. Ital. Hippol. Pat. Lat.; they were omitted only by accident on account

of the similarity of ending with the preceding κινάμωμον), *and odours, and ointment, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour* (σεμίδαλις, similago, the finest flour), *and wheat, and beasts* (κτῆνος, properly a possession, property in general, especially in cattle, draught-cattle), *and sheep, and* (now follow again some genitives, which are to be considered as dependent on γόμον) *of horses, of chariots, and of slaves, and souls of men;* σώματα and ψυχαὶ ἀνθρώπων are here entirely synonymous, both denoting slaves, bond-men; they are not to be distinguished with Ewald (now, however, he thinks differently), so that the former signifies the lowest class of slaves, who had the oversight of the horses and chariots, or, with Züllig, people of free position, who let out their bodies for wages in military service or in unchastity. The latter expression is from Ezek. xxvii. 13, where נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם is also put for slaves; σώματα appears among the Greeks in reference to slaves, yet mostly combined with δοῦλα and the like, see Wetstein, ad h. l.; comp. Tobit x. 11, σώματα καὶ κτήνη; Gen. xxxvi. 6, σώματα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ; 2 Macc. viii. 11, Ἰουδαϊκὰ σώματα.

Verse 14. *And the fruits that thy soul lusted after*, the fine costly fruits in which thou hast such delight, *are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly* (the former, τὰ λίπαρα, lauta, refers to the fat, the dainties at a feast, τὰ λαμπρὰ, perhaps to splendid dress) *are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.* These are not to be understood as words of the merchants, but as those of the angel who addresses Babylon itself. The contents also do not appear to me so inappropriate as that there is reason, with some interpreters, as Beza, Vitringa, &c. (Ewald also at present), to suppose them to have originally stood in verse 23, or after verse 11, or, with Ewald (earlier), that the writer wrote them in the margin as borrowed elsewhere, and a copier first inserted them in the text (see his Jahrb. d. Bibl. W. VIII. 1856, p. 99, where he supposes a mistake in the original, since the words should be placed after verse 21).

Verse 15. *The merchants of these things, which were made rich*

by her, by selling such things to Babylon, *shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment* (comp. verse 10), *weeping and wailing, and saying,*

Verse 16. *Alas, alas, that great city that was clothed* (hitherto) *in fine linen, and purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls.*

Verse 17. *For in one hour so great riches is come to nought*, the city with all these treasures. These words belong to the lamentation of the merchants, as does verse 19, end; at all events, the new verse would begin more suitably with καὶ πᾶς κυβερνήτης. Here is described,

(γ) Verses 17*b*—19. The lament of the seamen over her fall. The description is altered with respect to the preceding, since this lament is no longer in the future tense in the address of the angel to the seer, but in aorists, as if it took place in vision before the eyes and ears of the seer. Compare, moreover, Ezekiel's description of the lamentations of the sailors over the fall of Tyre (xxvii. 28 sqq.).

And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many trade by sea, stood afar off. The appellations of seafaring men are here accumulated. Instead of the received reading, πᾶς ἐπὶ πλοίων ὁ ὅμιλος, Griesbach and Lachmann, with the approbation of Bengel, have πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων, according to A. B. C. 24 cursive, Syr. Arm. Vulg. MS. Other codd., as well as the Compl., have πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων πλέων. The formula, ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν, exercere mare, of sailors and fishermen who work the sea, as it were, whilst they navigate it and live by it, is frequently found among the Greeks also, as Hesiod, Arrian, Appian, &c.; see ap. Wetstein.

Verse 18. *And cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning;* see verse 9. Instead of κάπνον, Lachmann has τόπον, according to A. 1 cursive, Vulg., but not Primas.; the received reading is probably genuine, according to verse 9.

Saying, Who (properly, what other city) *is like unto this great city*, namely, in reference to its present ruin, which is so fallen; as

in Ezek. xxvii. 32, מִי כְצוֹר. It is not natural when others supply ἦν, as De Wette; who *was* like the great city.

Verse 19. *And they cast dust on their heads*, as a sign of the greatest mourning. So did the mariners at the fall of Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. 30, וְיַעֲלוּ עָפָר עַל־רָאשֵׁיהֶם.

And cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness. ἡ τιμιότης denotes everything precious which she possesses, therefore her treasures and riches.

For in one hour is she made desolate. One may take the city as the subject of ἠρημώθη, but, according to verse 17, the τιμιότης of it also.

Verse 20. The heavenly voice again enters (verse 4). *Rejoice over her, O heaven* (instead of ἐπ' αὐτὴν, in the received text, the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, have ἐπ' αὐτῇ, besides 30 cursive, Hippol. Areth.; Lachmann, on the contrary, has ἐν αὐτῇ, with A. C., the latter Hebrew-like; in meaning all are alike), *and ye saints, and ye apostles and prophets;* the latter also belonging to the new covenant.

For God hath avenged you on her; this is a pregnant construction = hath judged her, and taken revenge from her for your blood.

(*c*) Verses 21—24.

A symbolical action, viz. an angel throws a millstone into the sea to represent still more vividly by it as well as the accompanying speech, the sudden and entire destruction of the city. This is an imitation of Jerem. li. 63, 64, where Jeremiah commands the prince Seraiah, who accompanied Zedekiah to Babylon, when he had read the writing (against Babylon), to bind a stone to it and cast it into the Euphrates, with the words, "Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her." Compare, besides, Nehem. ix. 11, "Thou threwest them (the Egyptians) into the flood as a stone into mighty waters."

Verse 21. *And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone* (as large; instead of μύλον Lachmann has μύλινον, an unusual form of the adjective; elsewhere μυλικός; according to A. C. Vulg. molorem), *and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus, with violence, shall that great city Babylon be thrown down* (ὁρμήματι, impetu, by a violent attack, with force), *and shall be found no more at all,* as one sees no longer a heavy stone which is thrown into the sea.

Verse 22. *And the voice of harpers and singers* (μουσικῶν, of musicians, a general expression), *and of pipers and trumpet-players, shall be heard no more at all in thee, and no craftsman of whatsoever craft,* no workman, *shall be found any more in thee, and the sound of the mill shall be heard no more at all in thee.*

Verse 23. *And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee, and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee.* Similar descriptions are frequently found in the prophets in threats against countries and peoples; comp. especially Jerem. xxv. 10, in the threatening against the Jews, "Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstone and the light of the candle." Comp. ib. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxxiii. 11; Is. xxiv. 8; Ezek. xxvi. 13.

For thy merchants were the great men of the earth; they ruled universally on earth as lords by means of their riches, and with the insolence arising out of them; comp. Is. xxiii. 8, where the merchants of Tyre are called princes, its traders the honourable of the earth. Others, as Eichhorn, incorrectly take οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς for the subject, and interpret, the magnates of the earth were its merchants = had intercourse with it, allowed themselves to be tempted by it. In this sense the expression would be very unnatural.

For by thy sorceries were all nations deceived; the second ὅτι is co-ordinate with the first.

Verse 24. *And in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.* The latter perhaps only means those who suffered a violent death for the sake of God and his kingdom. Babylon is here described as guilty of all these murders, because they proceeded from it directly or indirectly; just as in Matt. xxiii. 35 sqq., Luke xi. 50 sqq., all the innocent blood which from the beginning was shed on the earth, is said to be avenged on the Jews at the time of Christ.

(*d*) Ch. xix. 1—10.

Voices in heaven now resound, praising God for his righteous judgment upon the great Babylon, and singing to him because the marriage of the Lamb is come, the time of his union with his Church, and the complete inauguration of his kingdom, which is subsequently connected with the fall of anti-christian Babylon.

(α) Verses 1—3. *After these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Hallelujah, the salvation and the majesty and the power is of our God.* This is shown quite clearly in the judgment upon Babylon; comp. vii. 10, xi. 15.

Verse 2. *For true and righteous are his judgments* (as in xvi. 7), *for he hath judged the great whore,* inflicted punishment on her, *which did corrupt the earth with her fornication;* comp. xi. 18, τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν; Jerem. li. 25, where Babylon is called a destroying mountain which destroyed the whole earth, הַמַּשְׁחִית אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ. This refers to moral destruction.

And hath avenged the blood of his servants on her; comp. Deut. xxxii. 43, דַּם עֲבָדָיו יְקוֹם, he revenges the blood of his servants. The construction ἐκδικεῖν τὸ αἷμα ἐκ χειρός corresponds entirely to the way in which נָקַם, 2 Kings ix. 7, is construed.

Verse 3. *And again they said, Hallelujah; and her smoke ascends for ever and ever;* it is an inextinguishable fire which will consume her; see Is. xxxiv. 10, "It shall not be quenched (Edom's fire) night nor day, the smoke thereof shall go up for ever,"

לְעוֹלָם וַעֶלֶה עָשְׂתָה; see at xiv. 11. The particle καὶ is to be interpreted, with Ewald, in such a way that this member forms the continuation of verse 2 in the description of the just judgment of God, which is only interrupted by the repetition of the Hallelujah.

(β) Verse 4. *And the twenty-four elders and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne; Amen, Hallelujah.* They form therefore the final chorus to that song of the heavenly hosts which praises the justice of the Divine judgments; comp. Ps. cvi. 48, the concluding doxology to the fourth book, which says, "And let the people say," אָמֵן הַלְלוּיָהּ.

(γ) Verse 5. *And a voice came out of the throne,* came thence, *saying, Praise our God, all his servants, and those who fear him,* his worshippers, *small and great.* This is compounded of Ps. cxxxiv. ("Bless ye the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord"), and Ps. cxv. 13 ("Them that fear the Lord, both small and great").

(δ) Verses 6—8. *And I heard, as it were, the voice of a great multitude, and as the rushing of many waters, and as the sound of mighty thunderings. They said* (received reading, λεγόντων; for which, Griesbach, Lachmann, ed. min., Tischendorf, read λέγουτες, according to B. 15 cursive; other cursive, λέγοντας, and so Erasmus, Bengel and others; perhaps, however, the received text is the original, and Lachmann, 2nd ed., has again adopted it), *Hallelujah, for the Lord our God, the Almighty* ἐβασίλευσε, *hath taken the dominion,* or proved himself sovereign; comp. xi. 17, "We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast, ὅτι εἴληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβασίλευσας." We may compare the description at the opening of the seventh trumpet (xi. 15—19) with our passage, as the prophecy concerning the development of the occurrences of the future appears to have arrived at the same point here as that reached at the seventh trumpet.

Verse 7. *Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him, for the marriage of the Lamb is come,* the time of his espousing his bride, the Church, which takes place when the Lord returns to unite himself in the closest bonds with his Church in the Messianic

kingdom. As the relation of Jehovah to the people of Israel or to the city of Jerusalem is represented in the prophets as a matrimonial one, in which Jehovah appears as the husband, the Church or city as the wife (for example, Is. liv. 4—8; Hos. ii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 8, and the whole chapter), and therefore the desertion of them from Jehovah to idolatry as fornication and adultery, so in the New Testament the union of Christ with his Church is frequently designated as a matrimonial one, and their complete union in his kingdom at his glorious coming as a marriage (Matt. xxii. 2 sqq., xxv. 1 sqq.), till which time the Church has to keep herself as a faithful bride for her bridegroom; see 2 Cor. xi. 2, "For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy, for I have espoused you to one husband, Christ, that I may present you to him as a chaste virgin."

And his wife, namely, his bride, who is now to be espoused to him, *hath made herself ready*, prepared herself to receive him, hath adorned herself, viz. with the garments that are mentioned immediately in verse 8.

Verse 8. *And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in shining and pure linen;* such a marriage garment as implies purity and innocence she is to put on.

For the byssus, the fine white linen, *is the innocence*, the righteousness or the virtue, *of the saints;* these qualities are symbolized by it, and if she did not possess them she could not be so adorned. τὸ δικαίωμα is properly the being justified, that is, the condition in which one is δίκαιος, and as such stands before God; thus Romans v. 18. The plural here refers to the number of persons, the ἅγιοι, who possess this δικαίωμα. Besides, by the bride, the γυνὴ of the Lamb, we are here to understand the Church of the Lord; it is somewhat different below, xxi. 2 (after the completion of the thousand-years' kingdom), where it refers to the New Jerusalem, the abode coming down from heaven for the saints.

(ε) Verses 9, 10. *And he saith unto me*, i. e. as follows from verse 10, an angel, and perhaps the same one whose voice, ac-

cording to verse 5, resounded from the throne; not, as Hengstenberg thinks, the angel mentioned in xvii. 1. Nor is it likely, as Ewald, Ebrard think, that it is the angel of Christ mentioned in i. 1, who throughout all these visions is supposed to be the companion of the seer.

Write, Blessed are they which are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb, who are present at it as guests, that is, who shall take part with the rest in the blessedness of his kingdom; comp. Luke xiv. 15, where one says to Christ, μακάριος ὃς φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.; comp. xiv. 13 for the entire description of an angel commanding him to write this down.

And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God, his true prophecies; they appear to be now fulfilled. Most probably the words are to be so understood, especially according to the text of Bengel, Lachmann and Tischendorf, which (*a*) has οἱ before αληθινοὶ, after A. 2 cursive, and (*b*) τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσί (instead of εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ), after A. B. more than 20 cursive, Areth.; but also according to the received text. It is somewhat different xxii. 6, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ κ. ἀληθινοί. These words (that God makes all things new) are true and faithful, as De Wette and others understand.

Verse 10. *And I fell down before his feet to worship him,* with Divine reverence.

And he said unto me, ὅρα μή sc. ποιήσῃς, cave ne facias, *Do it not;* exactly so in the passage xxii. 9, which is very similar.

I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus; on the latter formula, see at vi. 9, xii. 17. The angel will not put himself in a higher relation to God the Creator, than believers among men, the followers of the Lord. But there can be no doubt, and xxii. proves it still more clearly, that the genitive τῶν ἀδελφῶν is also dependent on σύνδουλος, and is not to be taken, with Eichhorn, Züllig, Ebrard, &c., εἷς, I am *one* of thy brethren.

Worship God, adore him, *for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.* From the connection, these words must assign the

reason why the seer should not fall down before the angel, and why he was not inferior to him in dignity; besides, it is said, the testimony of Jesus, which the seer also had with the rest of the followers of the Lord, is the spirit of prophecy, the very spirit which spoke out of the angel and disclosed the future, so that the followers of the Lord, who have the testimony of Jesus, have the very same spirit as that of the angel, and accordingly the angel might designate himself as one of their fellow-servants.

Ch. xix. 11—xx. 3.

The appearing of the Messiah, the Logos, is now depicted in his triumphant glory; the defeat and destruction of all adversaries of the kingdom of God; the casting of the beast and the false prophet into the lake of fire, and the binding of Satan for a thousand years. First,

(*a*) Verses 11—16. The appearing of the Messiah going forth to battle with the nations of the earth.

Verse 11. *And I saw heaven opened,* since the Messiah comes forth from it; but the seer was also found in vision upon earth (see xvii. 3).

And behold a white horse (see vi. 2), *and he that sat upon him is called faithful and true; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war;* comp. Is. xi. 4, of the Messiah, שָׁפַט בְּצֶדֶק דַּלִּים.

Verse 12. *His eyes were as a flame of fire,* so brilliant and consuming, as in i. 14.

And on his head were many crowns, denoting his universal sovereignty (comp. iii. 1) as King of kings (verse 16). Grotius refers to the fact that conquerors were wont to place on their own heads the crowns of the conquered princes; 2 Sam. xii. 30, 1 Macc. xi. 13.

And he had a name written that no man knew but he himself; comp. ii. 17. The name is here supposed to be written on the forehead, different from that which, according to verse 16, he bears on his thigh, King of kings and Lord of lords. It is a name which signifies in the most exhaustive manner the whole

fulness of his majesty, sublimity and power, which no mortal can comprehend in its entire extent, therefore no one knows the name that expresses it. The writer did not think of any definite name, as Logos, Jehovah (so Züllig thinks, &c.), or any other which may be guessed.

Verse 13. *And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood,* as a proof of the defeat which he inflicts on his adversaries. So in Is. lxiii. 1, Jehovah appears as a conqueror of Edom with dyed garments.

And his name is called the Word of God; on this see John i. 1.

Verse 14. *And the armies in heaven,* the heavenly hosts, the armies of the angels of God, *followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.*

Verse 15. *And out of his mouth goeth a (two-edged) sharp sword* (comp. i. 16, ii. 12), *that with it he should smite the nations;* comp. Is. xi. 4, הִכָּה־אֶרֶץ בְּשֵׁבֶט פִּיו

And he shall rule them with a rod of iron (ii. 27, xii. 5); *and he treadeth the wine-press of the wine of the anger of Almighty God.* The καὶ, in the received text, after τοῦ θυμοῦ, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have omitted, as well as the Compl., Bengel, al., after A. B. 30 cursive, Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Orig. Areth. Iren. The genitives are then somewhat accumulated. It appears that two images are here connected with one another, that of the treading of the wine-press, which elsewhere denotes the shedding of blood (comp. xiv. 19 sqq., Is. lxiii. 3), and that of the wine of wrath, with which God stupefies men and hurls them into destruction, see xiv. 10. Here, the wine-press which God treads is that of the fiery wine of his wrath, in which is pressed the wine which God in his anger will cause men to drink, and with which he will intoxicate them. Yet perhaps τοῦ οἴνου is to be closely connected with the τὴν ληνὸν as an adjective, and the τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς is dependent on the entire idea of the wine-press; the wine-press of the intense wrath of God which he treads in his great anger, in which case men themselves

are supposed to be that which is trodden, and their blood to be the wine; comp. xiv. 19, ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν. The expression is certainly overloaded here. Yet it was probably meant as we have pointed out.

Verse 16. *And he hath,* he bears, *on his vesture and on his thigh* (καὶ depicts it more exactly), *a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.* Similar inscriptions on the thigh, specifying the name or the dignity, are frequently found on old monuments; see Eichhorn, Rosenmüller A. und N. M., on this passage.

(*b*) Verses 17, 18. An angel now calls upon the flocks of birds to devour the flesh of hostile sovereigns and their bands who perish in battle with the Messiah. A similar representation is in Ezek. xxxix. 17—20.

And I saw an angel standing in the sun, in the fullest radiance and in the midst of heaven.

And he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven (xiv. 6, viii. 13), *Come and gather yourselves together unto the great supper of God,* which God the Lord prepares. Instead of the received reading, τοῦ μεγάλου, feast of the great God, the text should be, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, al., τὸ μέγα τοῦ, after A. B. many cursive, Syr. Copt. Vulg. Andr. 2, Prim. (according to Wolf, God is never designated as ὁ μέγας in the Apocalypse).

Verse 18. *That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all, free and bond, both small and great.*

(*c*) Verses 19—21. The seer now beholds how Antichrist with his troops advances against Christ, but is conquered by him and thrown into the lake of fire together with the false prophet, and his troops are destroyed.

Verse 19. *And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth* (those in xvi. 14 sqq., called together to this battle by the three demons, and probably at the same time also the kings from the East,

symbolized by the ten horns of the beast, xvii. 12 sqq.). *And their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.*

Verse 20. *And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet,* his companion, *who wrought miracles* (xiii. 12 sqq.), *with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image;* they were first induced to do it by his tempting them, by the miracles wrought by him.

These both were cast alive into a lake of fire, sea of fire, *burning with brimstone.* Into it they are now cast alive to be continually tormented; later on, Satan is cast into the same (xx. 10), where it is called ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, and afterwards (ib. 15), at the last judgment, after the general resurrection, all those who are not found in the book of life.

Verse 21. *And the remnant,* the kings of the world who had gone out with the beast to battle against Christ and their troops, *were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which proceeded out of his mouth, and all the fowls of heaven were filled with their flesh,* so numerous were the slain; comp. xviii. 6.

(*d*) Ch. xx. 1—3. Satan is now taken from the earth that he may not disturb the peace and happiness of believers during the thousand-years' Messianic kingdom about to commence. For this length of time he is cast into the pit, and it is shut up and sealed over him, which implies, at the same time, that after the expiration of that time he will again break forth, yet only for a short time, in order to commence the final contest with Christ, in which he shall be for ever defeated and deprived of all influence over the kingdom of heaven, and shall be given over to everlasting torment.

Verse 1. *And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit* (comp. ix. 1), *and a great chain in his hand* (hanging on it; comp., upon ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα, v. 1).

Verse 2. *And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan* (see xii. 9 for the entire description), *and bound him for a thousand years.*

Verse 3. *And he cast him into the bottomless pit and shut* (it, the pronoun αὐτὸν in the received text, Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, rightly omit, which Mill approves; after A. 31 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Andr. Areth. Patr. Lat.), and sealed over him, viz. over Satan cast in, *that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled.* By the nations, τα ἔθνη, we are, according to verses 8 sqq., to understand the heathen nations still remaining on the earth, which are also supposed to remain there during the thousand-years' kingdom, but at its most extreme and remotest points, so that the citizens of the Messianic kingdom do not come in contact with them, nor is their peace disturbed by them.

And after that he must, according to the counsel of God, *be loosed again for a little season,* set free after the lapse of the thousand years; see verse 7.

Verses 4—6.

First resurrection or awaking of the believers who shall reign with Christ in the thousand-years' kingdom. See the Introduction as to this conception of the thousand-years' kingdom and the first resurrection, as well as the historical synopsis there given of the various conflicting interpretations.

Verse 4. *And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them,* instead of, and to those who sat on them was judgment given. At the foundation of this lies Dan. vii. 9, 10, "I beheld, till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit. The judgment was set and the books were opened." Who they were that sat on the thrones in judgment is not mentioned here; we are doubtless to imagine beings in the immediate presence of God, in the heavenly senate, as it were; perhaps the twenty-four elders. But the judgment itself refers only to the destination of those who are worthy to participate in the first resurrection, and in the blessedness of the thousand-years' kingdom on earth.

And (I saw) *the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness*

of Jesus and for the word of God (comp. vi. 9), *and* (in general, all those) *which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, nor had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived* = again lived, *and reigned with Christ (the) thousand years.* Those believers who are still alive at the future coming of the Lord are not specially spoken of here, doubtless because it is supposed that they will be united with him on earth at the re-appearing of the Lord; Paul (1 Thess. iv. 17) expressly treats of it.

Verse 5. *But the rest of the dead lived not,* were not living, did not revive, *until the thousand years were finished; this is the first resurrection,* that of believers participating in the thousand-years' reign of the Messiah.

Verse 6. *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection;* ἅγιος refers to the priestly character, one entirely devoted to God, of the citizens of the kingdom of the Messiah, which is made a prominent feature, whereby they are kept apart from all impure contact with evil, and at the same time also from all harm, as persons unassailable.

On such the second death hath no power (on this see ii. 11), *but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him* (Christ) *a thousand years.*

Verses 7—10.

The final contest of Satan with the kingdom of God, which issues in his complete destruction; he being thrust into hell for ever after it.

Verse 7. *And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.* The description here and in verse 8 is changed with respect to what precedes, since the form of vision is not observed, but it appears as proper prediction and therefore in the future. Verse 6 occasioned it, a beatitude where the blessing occurred in futures. But in verse 9 the description again assumes the form of vision.

Verse 8. *And he shall go out to deceive the nations which are in*

the four corners (the most extreme and distant points; comp. vii. 1) *of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle*, that is, to the battle against the kingdom of God, *the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.* The prophecy in Ezek. xxxviii. xxxix., lies here at the foundation, where a Gog, prince of Magog, is spoken of, who at the end of the days, when the people of Jehovah have strengthened themselves in their land after return from captivity, will march out against them with numerous hosts, but will meet with a complete defeat there. Then will the time of the tribulation of the people of God be properly at an end; they will inhabit the land in perfect safety, and will forget all the affliction they suffered. So the subject here also is a last struggle, which, even after the expiration of the thousand-years' kingdom, the people of God shall have to encounter with the nations of the world which Satan will summon from the uttermost parts of the earth. The names Gog and Magog are also borrowed from Ezekiel, although they are there related to one another somewhat differently. Only Magog is there the name of a people, and appears so also in Gen. x. 2, probably of a nation in the far north, which was known to the Jews only by name. Gog is mentioned in Ezekiel as prince of Magog, and it is not improbable what Ewald supposes, that this name was first formed out of Magog, supposing that Magog means land of Gog. Here, on the contrary, Gog is treated in the same manner as Magog, as a collective designation of those who had their dwelling-place at the farthest extremities of the earth, nations outside the pale of God's kingdom. In the same manner, Gog is also treated as a people (Orac. Sib. iii. 257, 450), beside Magog, who are transferred to Ethiopia by the Egyptian writer of this book. Among the later Jews also, Gog and Magog are mostly named together as nations who will march against Jerusalem and the land of Israel at the end of the world, and shall then perish by the Messiah or by fire from heaven; for example, Tharg. Hieros., in Numb. xi. 27, &c.; see Wetstein, ad h. l.

Verse 9. *And they went up on the breadth of the earth,* from its remotest corners they overflowed the earth in its entire breadth and extent; comp. Hab. i. 6, "I raise up the Chaldeans," הַהוֹלֵךְ לְמֶרְחֲבֵי אֶרֶץ.

And compassed the camp of the saints about, the place where the saints, the citizens of the thousand-years' kingdom, were united, which is described as *the beloved city,* beloved by God, city to him precious, namely, Jerusalem, as after its purification it is supposed to be the seat of the Messiah and his kingdom; see upon this the Introduction, and at ch. xi.

And fire came down from heaven (from God) (ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, after A. 2 cursive, Ar. Pol. Vulg. MS. Andr. 1, Prim. Patr. Lat.); comp. on καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, xxi. 2—9; *and devoured them.*

Verse 10. *And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are* (xix. 20), *and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*

Verses 11—15.

General resurrection and judgment of the dead, namely, of all those who have not had part in the thousand-years' kingdom, when all who are not in the book of life are cast into hell, into the lake of fire, after death and Hades itself had been previously hurled into it, so that it is called the second death.

Verse 11. *And I saw a great white throne,* perhaps called μέγας in relation to the several thrones mentioned in verse 4, *white* denoting its pure lustre.

And him that sat on it; doubtless God the Father is meant.

From whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them; they disappeared to make room for a new earth and a new heaven (xxi. 1).

Verse 12. *And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before the throne, and the books were opened;* according to Dan. vii. 10, the books in which the conduct of each one during his lifetime was recorded.

And another book was opened, which is the book of life; see on iii. 5.

And the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

Verse 13. *And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and Hades delivered up the dead which were in them.* These latter signify such as were regularly buried and had thus come into the lower world; as the ideas of grave and Hades, Sheol, lower world, frequently run into one another. From them, those who perished in the sea are separated, the idea perhaps lying at the foundation, which we find among the Greeks also, that their souls do not come into Hades if they are not buried above; see vi. 8, on the connection of death and Hades. Here both are denoted as possessors of the dead consigned to the grave.

And they were judged every man according to his works.

Verse 14. *And death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire.* Here they are treated as two demons (comp. vi. 8) who, like Satan, Antichrist and the false prophet before, are cast into hell, and so deprived of all further influence and power over men. This is a poetical expansion of the Pauline ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος, 1 Cor. xv. 26; comp. verses 5 sqq.; Is. xxv. 8, בִּלַּע הַמָּוֶת לָנֶצַח.

This is the second death, the lake of fire; it is so named inasmuch as those are delivered up to it who are found persevering enemies against God, even as the human race at the beginning was consigned to death for its disobedience. The words ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς are wanting in the received text, but are found in Compl. al., and are received by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, after A. B. 27 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Aeth. Vulg. MS. Hippol. Andr. Areth. Iren. Patr. Lat.

Verse 15. *And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire,* into hell, where Satan abides.

Ch. xxi. 1—xxii. 5.

The last portion of the prophecy describes at large the formation of the new world, and in it specially the New Jerusalem as the abode of believers and the blessed, in a very poetical manner, in images which are mostly borrowed from or follow Old Testament representations, particularly the Mosaic description of Paradise, the tabernacle of testimony, and Ezekiel on the New Jerusalem in chs. xl. sqq. But individual features must not all be pressed, according to the genius of our book itself, neither in a literal nor an allegorical sense. First,

Verses 1—4. The new world, and particularly the new Jerusalem, is introduced.

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first, the one existing hitherto, *heaven and the first earth were passed away;* see xx. 11. On the expectation of a new creation of heaven and earth, see 2 Peter iii. 13, καινοὺς δὲ οὐρανοὺς καὶ γῆν καινὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶμεν, ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ. Is. lxv. 17 lies at the foundation: "Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind;" Is. lxvi. 22: "For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make, shall remain before me," &c. In Tr. Sanhedr. fol. cxvii. 2, it is also said that God will renew the world after seven thousand years, when the times of the Messiah shall have been.

And there was no more sea; it had disappeared with the old earth and the old heaven; and it is implied that it will no longer have place in the new creation.

Verse 2. *And I saw* (the received reading, ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης after καὶ, is omitted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, as well as Compl., &c., after A. B. 30 cursive, Syr. Ar. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. MS. Andr. Areth. Iren. Patr. Lat.) *the holy city, the New Jerusalem, descend from heaven, from God.* By the very position of the words in the text, adopted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, where ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ is placed after ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, the former are doubtless to be connected with καταβαίνουσαν, not, as Griesbach, with ἡτοιμασμένην: see verse 10,

xx. 9, iii. 12; *prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.* The New Jerusalem coming down from heaven, from God, was already mentioned above (iii. 12). It was regarded as the prototype of the earthly Jerusalem, in the same manner as the heavenly temple with its sanctuaries was regarded as the prototype of the earthly one; see, upon this, Schöttgen, ad h. l., and in the Dissertat. de Hierosolyma Cœlesti, in his Hor. Hebr. et Talm. I. 1205 sqq., and Wetstein on Gal. iv. 26. This heavenly Jerusalem, the prototype of the earthly city of the covenant people, is here described, after the renovation of the world, and the general resurrection, as the seat of the blessed; comp. Sohar Gen. fol. 69, col. 271; R. Jeremias dixit; Deus S. B. innovabit mundum suum et ædificabit Hierosolymam, ut ipsam descendere faciat in medium sui de cœlo, ita ut nunquam destruatur.

Verse 3. *And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying* (instead of οὐρανοῦ, Lachmann and Tischendorf have θρόνου, after A. 1 cursive, Vulg. Iren. Ambr. Aug., but not Prim. Tychon., and probably not original), *Behold the tabernacle,* the tent, *of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and their God himself shall be with them as their God;* comp. Levit. xxvi. 11, 12: "And I will set my tabernacle among you; and I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people;" Ezek. xxxvii. 27: "My tabernacle also shall be with them; yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people." The σκηνὴ probably alludes to the tabernacle of testimony, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, in which the majesty of Jehovah dwelt under the old covenant.

Verse 4. *And he shall wipe away all tears from their eyes* (as is said of the Lamb, vii. 17), *and there shall be no more death;* see on xx. 14; comp. Is. xxv. 8: "He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears (דִּמְעָה) from off all faces."

Neither sorrow (for loss by death, see xviii. 3), *nor crying* (loud lament on account of violence and such like), *neither shall there be any more pain.*

For the former things are passed away, τὰ πρῶτα, the previous relations of the world.

Verses 5—8. *And he that sat upon the throne said* (God the Father, see xx. 11; probably not, as Eichhorn, Ewald, &c., think, the Messiah; Züllig, De Wette, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, rightly refer it to God), *Behold I make all things new* (Is. xliii. 19, חִנְנִי עֹשֶׂה חֲדָשָׁה; Jerem. xxx. 21).

And he said (μοὶ, in the received text, is omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, after A. B. 11 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Vulg. MS. Iren.), *Write, for these words are true and faithful*, namely, the utterance of God that he makes all things new; for it is doubtless to be referred to this. Because it is certain, the seer is to write it down.

Verse 6. *And he said unto me, It is done*, the renovation of the world. *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end; I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely*; comp. vii. 17. Is. lv. 1 lies at the foundation, where all who are thirsty are invited to come to the water, and take freely wine and milk.

Verse 7. *He that overcometh* (see ii. 7, 11, &c.) *shall inherit this*, he shall take part in it as something he has a right to, *and I will be his God*, prove myself his God, *and he shall be my son*; probably meaning also, I will prove myself a Father to him.

Verse 8. *But the fearful*, cowardly ones, who do not persevere in confessing my word through fear of the world. These are essentially the same as the pusillanimous ὑποστελλομένοις in Heb. x. 38 sqq.

And unbelieving (the Compl., Griesbach, &c., after B. over 30 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Andr. 2, Areth., have καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς, and sinners, yet it is not certain), *and the abominable* (ἐβδελυγμένοις, those who are abhorred, abominable to God, who have polluted themselves with detestable crimes, as the worship of idols and such like), *and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death* (xx. 14).

Verses 9—xxii. 5.

Description of the New Jerusalem itself. For representations of the New Jerusalem among later Jews see Eisenmenger's Entd. Judenth. II. 839 sqq.

Verses 9—14. *And there came one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither; I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.* So is it most probably to be connected, τοῦ ἀρνίου dependent on τὴν γυναῖκα; Lachmann and others have also τοῦ ἀρνίου after τὴν γυναῖκα, according to A. 3 cursive, Syr. Copt. Aeth. Vulg., &c. Tischendorf, on the contrary, τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴν νύμφην τοῦ ἀρνίου, according to B. 25 cursive; the woman, the bride of the Lamb. Compare with the description that one of the plague angels shows the seer this city, xvii. 1, according to which a similar one shows him the judgment of Babylon, δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὸ κρῖμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης κ. λ.

Verse 10. *And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain.* So is Ezekiel, in the vision, xl. 2, led to a very high mountain, where he sees the New Jerusalem and the new temple.

And he showed me the holy city Jerusalem descending out of heaven, from God, (verse 11) *having the glory of God;* τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ denotes not merely a splendour given to it by God (Grotius); or, with others, a specially glorious splendour, but the Schechina, the כְּבוֹד יְהוָה, the majesty of God, who abides in it, and, according to verse 23, lightens it without sun and moon; comp. Is. xxiv. 23; Zech. ii. 9.

Its light was like unto a stone most precious, clear as crystal, that is, a very pure and clear transparent jasper; φωστὴρ is luminare, what gives light; so among the Greeks it stands for a window; in Phil. ii. 15, for stars. Here it denotes in general that by which the city receives its light, as the present earth does by the heavenly bodies; and this is the majesty of God, according to verse 23, xxii. 5.

Verse 12. *And had a wall, great and high,* indicating the safety of the city.

Had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, as keepers, watchmen of the gates and therefore of the city, *and names written, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.*

Verse 13. *On the east, three gates; and on the north, three gates; and on the south, three gates; and on the west, three gates.* This is formed after Ezek. xlviii. 31—34, according to which the New Jerusalem will be provided with twelve gates, three gates to each quarter of the heavens, and these will be called after the names of the individual tribes of Israel, all which are adduced there by name.

Verse 14. *And the wall of the city had twelve θεμελίους, foundations, and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.* The splendour of these θεμέλιοι is described below, verses 19, 20. It appears to mean that the whole extent of the wall, from one gate to the other, was built on a large foundation-stone. But the essential idea intended to be expressed is this, that the whole structure of the wall surrounding and protecting the city, rests on the foundation which the apostles of the Lord laid with their testimony; comp. Eph. ii. 20, ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων κ. προφητῶν.

Verses 15—21. *And he that talked with me had a measure, a golden rod* (a measuring-rod, see xi. 1; in the received text, μέτρον is wanting, but is adopted by Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, as also Compl., on preponderant testimony), *to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.* This measure, for knowing the extent of the city, is borrowed from Ezek. xl. 3.

Verse 16. *And the city lieth four squares,* hath four squares or corners, consequently as many sides, and those equal; *and their length is as large as their breadth.* This is also from Ezek. xlviii. 16, 17, according to which the city has the same extent in all four quarters.

And he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. Grammatically, this should probably be understood that the genitive δώδεκα χιλιάδων is dependent on σταδίους, although the converse would be more accurate, ἐπὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδας σταδίων. But it is too harsh to suppose the genitive dependent on πόλιν to be supplied again, as Ewald and Züllig take it; a city of twelve thousand, ad stadios = e stadiorum mensura. The twelve thousand stadia would amount to about fifteen hundred Roman or three hundred German miles. But when it is said immediately, *the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal*, this latter can hardly mean, as Grotius, Eichhorn, De Wette, Ebrard, think, that the height of all the houses or that of the entire wall was the same, and the city was built so symmetrically, but only that the height was the same as the length and breadth. We may doubt as to whether it means that the twelve thousand furlongs are the measure in all three directions together, so that four thousand furlongs belong to each of them as well as to the height; or, as Züllig, Hengstenberg, suppose, that each of these three extensions amounted in itself to twelve thousand furlongs. In whichever way it be taken, the great circumference of the city is implied on the one hand; on the other, its symmetry; yet the estimates, especially in reference to the height, are far too huge even for a poetical description; compare, among later Jewish writings, Bava Bathra, fol. lxxv. 2, according to which the New Jerusalem is said to be at least twelve miles high; and Schir Rabba, vii. 5, according to which it is said to reach in height to the throne of the Majesty.

Verse 17. *And he measured the wall thereof*, 144 *cubits* (namely, in height), *according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.* On μέτρον ἀνθρώπου, comp. at xiii. 18, ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου. He means to say, that the measure here given is according to the one usual among men, as it is also that of the angel. Grammatically, the μέτρον is to be viewed as an accusative, an apposition carelessly added to the preceding.

Verse 18. *And the building of the wall of it was jasper.* ἐνδόμησις,

properly the building in, therefore the thing built in. It is found in Joseph. Ant. xv. 9, 6, of the mole erected to fortify a harbour. Here, in contrast to the θεμελίους, it can only be the wall built over them, the building of the wall itself, which was not of ordinary bricks or cut stones, but of jasper, referring to its great lustre and splendour.

And the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass, crystal, as pure and transparent; comp. verse 21 (instead of ὁμοία, should probably be read, with Compl., Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf, ὅμοιον, after A. B. 23 cursive, Andr. Areth. Vulg.).

Verse 19. *And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones,* from what follows, so that each single θεμέλιος consisted of a single precious stone. Is. liv. 11, 12, lies at the foundation, but is carried out here more fully, where Jehovah promises to lay the foundation of Jerusalem on sapphires, and to make its entire circumference of precious stones. In the representation of the individual precious stones, the description of the twelve stones on the high-priest's breastplate, probably lies at the foundation; Exod. xxviii. 17 sqq., xxix. 10 sqq.

The first foundation of jasper, as far as the end of verse 20.

Verse 21. *And the twelve gates were twelve pearls,* each several gate was of one pearl. According to Is. liv. 12, the gates of the city were to be sparkling precious stones (carbuncles, אַבְנֵי אֶקְדָּח), comp., in Wetstein and Schöttgen, ad h. l., the Talmudic passages, Bava Bathra, fol. lxxv. 1, Sanhedr. fol. 1, where precious stones and pearls of thirty cubits in length and breadth are spoken of, which are said to be the gates of the city of Jerusalem.

And the street of the city is pure gold, as transparent glass, crystal; comp. verse 18.

Verses 22—27. Verse 22. *And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.* Since God himself, with Christ, will dwell in the city, tabernacle among its citizens (verses 3, 11), no particular place or building is

needed in it, in order to seek the presence of God there, to worship him in prayer or by sacrifice.

Verse 23. *And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof;* comp. Is. lx. 19, 20, "The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee, but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light. . . . Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself, for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light," &c.

Verse 24. The first hemistich runs in the received text: *And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it,* καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τῶν σωζομένων ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτῆς περιπατήσουσι. But this is doubtless a later emendation, and we must read, with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, &c., καὶ περιπατήσουσι τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς, after A. 31 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Andr. Areth. Patr. Lat. This can only mean, *And the nations shall walk by its light;* they shall have no other light except that beaming from the holy city; from thence it will spread over the rest of the earth and lighten it also. Here the idea lies unmistakably at the foundation, and the second hemistich clearly shows it, as well as verse 26, that this New Jerusalem, the seat of the saints and blessed, in the last development of the Church of God after the general resurrection and the re-creating of the heaven and the earth, will be surrounded by other nations who are not members of the city of God, though no longer hostilely disposed towards it, but willingly acknowledging it. This representation has something remarkable, and appears not to agree entirely with the preceding description of the general judgment and the renewing of the world. But it evidently has its foundation in prophetic passages of the Old Testament, where the subject is the restoration of Jerusalem after the captivity, and the relation in which the nations of the earth appear to this city; the idea being transferred to the new

and heavenly Jerusalem. So, in particular, Is. lx.; comp. verse 3 for our passage, וְהָלְכוּ גוֹיִם לְאוֹרֵךְ, "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising."

And the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it (that is, their finery, their precious things, their jewels, and sparkling treasures, as כָּבוֹד, Is. lxvi. 12, &c.); comp. Is. lx. 5 sqq. and verse 11. The pronoun αὐτῶν without doubt refers to the kings, not, as others suppose, to τὰ ἔθνη.

Verse 25. Here Is. lx. 11 lies at the foundation, where it is said that the gates of the city stand continually open, shall not be closed day or night, that the treasures of the Gentiles may continually enter. Instead of that we have here, *And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day, for there shall be no night there*, since the glory of God without intermission lightens it, according to verse 23.

Verse 26. *And they*, the kings of the earth, *shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it;* besides their own treasures, those also of their people. (Others, as Luther, Beza, De Wette, Hengstenberg, take it impersonally, one will bring; yet the former is more probable.)

Verse 25. *And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth*, that is profane, *nor that practises abominations and lies, but only they which are written in the Lamb's book of life;* comp. Is. lii. 1, לֹא יָבוֹא־בְךָ עוֹד עֶרֶל וְטָמֵא. It appears that those nations of the earth also who do not belong as citizens to the New Jerusalem, but dwell around it, are considered as written in the book of life, and not as impure or profane, otherwise they or their kings would not dare to bring in their treasures.

Ch. xxii. 1, 2. *And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.* (ὕδατος ζωῆς, not merely living water, but water of life, whereby life is continually preserved, as ξύλον ζωῆς, verse 2, tree of life.) At the foundation of the description here, verse 2, lies (*a*) the description of Paradise, Gen. ii., through which a stream flows, and in the midst of which the tree of life stands; and (*b*)

Ezek. xlvii. especially, where the subject is a spring, which, rising from the temple in the New Jerusalem, becomes a river, on whose banks, according to verse 12, on both sides (מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה), all sorts of fruit-trees grow, whose leaves do not wither, and whose fruits do not cease, which produce fruit every month, and serve for food, as their leaves do for healing. Verse 2. *In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river* (Ewald falsely explains ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ = *between* the street and the river; see at v. 6. The τοῦ ποταμοῦ is probably dependent on ἐντεῦθεν κ. ἐντεῦθεν, and this corresponds to מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה in Ezekiel), *the tree of life, which bare twelve fruits* (in the year), *yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree* (serve) *for the healing of the nations*, therefore for those also who are not themselves members of the city; referring at the same time to body and soul.

Verses 3—5.

A transition to announcement by futures, which are here supposed to be the address of the angel to the seer. *And there shall be no more curse;* according to Zech. xiv. 11, וְחֵרֶם לֹא יִהְיֶה עוֹד, there shall be no more excommunication in Jerusalem, nothing to arouse divine anger, so that he should devote it to destruction. Instead of the received reading κατανάθεμα, κατάθεμα should be read (after A. B. 28 cursive, Andr. Areth.), with Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, &c.; in the same manner as in Matt. xxvi. 74, instead of the received καταναθεματίζειν, καταθεματίζειν should be read. Yet these forms are to be taken in precisely the same sense as those of the received text, which are the only ones used elsewhere.

And the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his (God's) *servants shall serve him*, those consecrated to him as his priests.

Verse 4. *And they shall see his* (God's) *face, and his name shall be on their foreheads;* by this they are described as his servants, devoted to his service.

Verse 5. *And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun, for God the Lord giveth them light.* Instead of αὐτοὺς, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς should be read, with Bentley, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, after A. Iren. Patr. Lat., whereby is expressed care-taking and protecting light, as in vii. 15, σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς.

And they shall reign for ever and ever.

Verses 6—21.

The revelation of the future of the kingdom of God is now at an end. What follows forms only a conclusion to the book, in which the truth and reliability of these disclosures is specially affirmed, and it is repeatedly asserted that the time of the fulfilment of the Lord's coming is at hand. First,

Verses 6, 7. *And he said unto me,* the angel, who had communicated to him the last disclosures, from xxi. 9 onward.

These words are faithful and true, as in xxi. 5; the reference here is chiefly to the disclosures last communicated, but probably at the same time to the contents of all the preceding revelations.

And the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets = from whom alone the spirit of prophecy in the prophets proceeds; the received reading has, the God of the holy prophets, ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, for which, ὁ θ. τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν is in Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf and others, after A. B. 28 cursive, Syr. Ar. Aeth. Vulg. Andr. Commentary, Areth. Prim.

Sent his angel to show unto his servant the things which must be done shortly; see on i. 1.

Verse 7. The words of Christ are in the first hemistich, but those which the angel here cites are to be regarded as the angel's own words, forming the second hemistich, as verse 8 shows. *Behold,* says the Lord, *I come quickly. Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book;* does not disregard them, for his hope as well as his conduct; comp. i. 3.

Verses 8, 9. *And I, John, am he that heard these things and saw them,* who heard these revelations through angels, and had these visions. One may also, as did Ewald (earlier), take all these words only as a preceding subject, in which case the καὶ stands before ὅτε in a Hebraizing way, and is not expressed in translation. *And I, John, who heard and saw these things, when I had heard and seen, fell down to worship* (to pray) *before the feet of the angel which showed me these things.* It is unquestionably false, when Dionysius of Alexandria (in Euseb. vii. 25) connects the words καὶ ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης ... βλέπων ταῦτα with what precedes, so that the seer pronounces himself blessed. *Then saith he unto me, Do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book; worship God.* Very similar to xix. 10.

Verses 10—15. *And he saith unto me.* The subject is not Christ, as many, on account of verses 12 sqq., take it, but the angel, whose words, however, afterwards pass into the words of Christ, as being introduced by him. Similarly verse 7, only that there (verses 13 sqq.) they proceed farther.

Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book; comp. Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 26, where Daniel is commanded to seal the vision, the words of the prophecy, i.e. withdraw it for the present from the knowledge of men, because the future to which it refers is still distant. Conversely, the seer is here commanded not to seal the prophecy he received, but to make it known still farther, because the time of fulfilment is near.

(For) the time is at hand; see i. 3.

Verse 11. Meanwhile, during the short time still remaining until the glorious coming of the Lord, each one may continue in his usual way of acting, corresponding to his inward character; the sinner is free to continue in his viciousness till then, as it is the part of the just and pious to increase in righteousness and holiness. Such is the meaning of this verse = as the wicked one is free to continue in his conduct until this event, so the just one is not to be tempted impatiently to abandon the path of

right. *He that is unjust*, who practises injustice against the will of God, *let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still.* The received reading ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω from ῥυπόω; instead of it, the Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c., according to B. about 30 cursive, Andr. Areth. (comp. Orig.) have ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω; the form ῥυπαρεύεσθαι does not appear elsewhere, and has therefore been probably suppressed. The words refer to a dirty, polluting disposition and mode of acting, as opposed to the ἅγιος, ἁγιάζεσθαι of the second hemistich.

And he that is righteous, pious, *let him be righteous still* (the received text has δικαιωθήτω, instead of which we have δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω in Compl., Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, according to A. B. 31 cursive, Syr. Ar. Pol. Copt. Vulg. MSS. of Itala, Andr. Areth. Patr. Lat.

And he that is holy, let him be holy still; he who has abstained from all profanity and devoted himself to God, let him do it still. Compare, moreover, Dan. xii. 10, "Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly" (shall continue in their sin); and for the ideas in our passage see Ezek. iii. 27, xx. 39.

Verse 12. *And behold I come quickly* (the Lord says again; see above), *and my reward with me* (as of Jehovah, Is. xl. 10 and lxii. 11, חִנֵּה שְׂכָרוֹ אִתּוֹ).

To give every man according as his work shall be, in accordance with his entire conduct (instead of ἔσται, Lachmann, Tischendorf, have ἐστιν, after A. B. 2 cursive).

Verse 13. Comp. i. 8.

Verse 14. *Blessed*, in the received text (and so also De Wette, Züllig, Tischendorf), *are they that do his commandments*, where this, as well as the following, till verse 15 inclusive, is again the utterance of the angel. But instead of the received text, ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, Lachmann, as also Bentley, approved by Mill and Ewald, have πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, after A. 2 cursive, Aeth. Arm. Vulg. Prim. Comment. and others; *who wash their robes* = who are cleansed in the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14), and

also keep themselves pure from sin (iii. 4). This is likely, as the more difficult reading; and then this and the following may be considered as the words of Christ, as verse 16 evidently is.

That they may have right, or, they shall receive authority, ἵνα, as in xiv. 13, *to the tree of life,* have a title to it, be admitted to its enjoyment, *and may enter in through the gates into the city,* find access to the holy city, New Jerusalem, which no wicked person can, according to xxi. 27.

Verse 15. *Without are,* or will remain, excluded from access to the holy city, *dogs;* dogs were unclean animals among the Hebrews; dog is therefore used as a word of reproach, so Phil. iii. 2 in reference to shamelessness. But in Deut. xxiii. 18, קְדֵשִׁים stands for μαλακοί, pueri molles, men who allow themselves to be abused indecently, and here it is probably so meant; otherwise one must, with Ewald (earlier), Züllig, De Wette, &c., take it in quite a general sense, for unclean men of impure mind. Yet the former is more probable.

And sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and all who love and practise lying.

Verse 16. *I, Jesus, have sent my angel to testify unto you these things,* to make known ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις; this might be, acto x. 11, with respect to the churches. So also Züllig, inasmuch as the churches were concerned in it, and the prophecy might be of use to them. Yet this is not very natural. It is generally understood = among or in the churches, a meaning which is not without difficulty with respect to this preposition. Lachmann has ἐν, after A. 3 cursive, Vulg. Andr. Athan.; so also Bentley. Perhaps merely ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις should be read, with Tischendorf, after 5 cursive, Arm. Andr. 2, Areth. as ed. Erasm. 1, 2, 3, Colin., Bengel, so also De Wette, to you the churches; these the Lord here addresses at the conclusion.

I am the root and the offspring of David; see at v. 5, on ῥίζα, in this connection. γένος stands here also, *offspring,* instead of he of the offspring of David. Yet, as Vitringa rightly remarks, there is contained in it something more significant, that he is the

true shoot of David, who combined in himself all the high and glorious things ever promised to the race of David. *The bright morning star;* see on ii. 28.

Verse 17. *And the spirit,* the spirit of prophecy, which had also descended upon John, *and the bride say, Come,* O Lord, delay no longer thy appearing.

And let him that heareth it say, Come; each one who hears this call of the spirit and the bride to the Lord may join in it and make known his desire.

And let him that is athirst, come; and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely; see on xxi. 6; he who has true longing for the treasures of the Lord, the Lord will not withhold them from him.

Verses 18, 19. A threatening on the part of the writer to those who should attempt to falsify the prophecy here communicated, by curtailing or adding to it. Perhaps Deut. iv. 2 lies at the foundation of this, "Ye shall not add unto the word, which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you;" ib. xiii. 1. Yet the writer has transcribers of his book specially in view, and wishes to prevent them from making any arbitrary alterations, as was then often done, especially in writings of the same prophetic kind; so Grotius, Vitringa, &c. Similar threatenings are in Irenæus; comp. Euseb. H. E. v. 20; Rufin. Præf. in Orig. de Princ. And according to the account of Pseudo-Aristeas respecting the LXX., after the completion of this translation, they are said to have uttered a solemn curse upon every one who should dare to add anything, to transpose or to take from it. Yet the threat is here so strong that Luther not unjustly was somewhat offended at it. *For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book; if any man shall add unto these things,* make arbitrary additions to this prophecy, *God shall add unto him the plagues* (a play on ἐπιτιθέναι) *that are written in this book.* Verse 19. *And if any man shall take away from the words of the book*

of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book, of which it treats.

Verse 20. *He which testifieth these things, saith,* the Lord, in reference to the entire prophetic contents of the book, *surely, I come quickly. Amen, Come, Lord Jesus.*

Verse 21. *The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with all;* after πάντων, the received text has ὑμῶν; for it Griesbach, as also Compl. and others have τῶν ἁγίων, according to B. 31 cursive, Syr. Copt. Arm. Vulg. MS. Andr. Areth. But this is probably not original, as merely πάντων is found in A. Vulg. MS., and so also Bentley, Bengel, Lachmann, Tischendorf.

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